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IN MEMORIAM

The death, in November, 1927, of Dr. Frances Davenport, for many years connected with the Historical Research Department of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, has been a distinct loss to American scholarship. She will be remembered best in the historical world by her *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies*, the first volume of which, covering the period from slightly before the Discovery to 1648, appeared as a publication of the above named institution in 1917. At her death, material for two other volumes, covering the period from 1648 to 1713, were practically ready for the press; and it is hoped that they will soon be published for they are much needed by students of Hispanic, as well as other American, history. In all her work, Dr. Davenport was meticulous, sparing herself no pains or care if she could increase the excellence of her product. Her investigations carried her into the libraries and archives of various countries; and she found it advisable in the course of her work to learn various foreign languages—this to a considerably greater degree than the majority of historical workers of the United States. In preparing the text of the treaties selected for publication, Dr. Davenport exercised the greatest possible care, in order to give the actual readings, comparing many copies, both manuscript and printed, which showed variants, and working whenever possible either with the original treaty or a photograph

of it. Her annotations are admirable and restrained. She produced in her *Treaties* a prime source for historians, which will prove of increasing use with the years. This work is one of the most important that the Carnegie Institution of Washington has undertaken in any of its branches. Dr. Davenport was one of that too small class of real scholars in the United States.

THE INTENDANT SYSTEM IN SPANISH AMERICA¹

In the eighteenth century the need for colonial reform in Spanish America was evident. The old administrative system was inadequate to prevent corruption and to meet the new conditions that arose. The viceroys were no longer the energetic and outstanding personages of the earlier period. Due to the increased complications of governmental functions and the minute regulations of the mother country they were overworked; therefore they could not be reformers and uproot political and economic evils. Only too often subordinate officials were influenced by self-interest and hindered rather than assisted viceroys in the performance of their many duties. The lowest officials did not receive salaries so they did not hesitate to enrich themselves at the expense of the royal treasury, to engage in trade, and to tyrannize over the Indians.²

The laws of the Indies lost much of their vigor and had to be supplemented by royal *cédulas*. These decrees accumulated until there were massive volumes of them, which administrators had to consult in order to see what the laws really were.³ Many of the *cédulas* contradicted the codified laws. This added to the confusion of law enforcers and caused much delay in judicial proceedings. Finally jurists in Spain and in America began to realize the need for a recodification of the laws of the Indies.

After rejuvenating Spain the Bourbon reformers turned their attention to the colonies and decided to apply the French principles of centralization to them. The reform movement

¹ This summary is taken from my larger work on the "Intendant System in Spanish America", which includes a translation of the Ordinance of Intendants of 1786 for New Spain and a comparison of it with the Ordinance of 1782 for Buenos Aires.

² Informe y plan de intendencias . . . de Nueva España. MS.

³ *Instrucciones que los virreyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus sucesores* (Mexico, 1867), art. 10, p. 130.

reached its height under Charles III., one of the most enlightened rulers of Spain. It was he who introduced the intendancies into America. The experiment was first tried in Havana in 1764, and a short ordinance, modeled after the Spanish document of 1749, was drawn up to regulate the new system. The intendant of Havana was given cognizance of the two departments of treasury and war in the same manner as the intendants of Castile.⁴ At first there was some doubt about his functions which were not well defined, but royal decrees of 1765 and 1767 made them more explicit.

Charles III. determined to extend the intendant system to all the viceroyalties, since no bad results were noticed from the Cuban innovation. He thought that conditions would be greatly improved in the colonies and the prosperity of the mother country would also increase. José de Gálvez, the visitor-general of New Spain, was to instruct the people concerning the new intendant system. Gálvez and Viceroy Croix discussed the plan for intendancies and signed it on January 15, 1768. It is an interesting document, full of wise suggestions. In it remedies are proposed to relieve the overworked viceroy and to check the corruption of minor officials. Salaries of intendants were to be higher than those of former officials and the means for raising the additional amounts, without cost to the treasury, are offered. The problems of what to do with the old officials when their positions were abolished, and of how to supply the place of the *repartimientos* are considered.⁵ The king approved the plan in 1769, but did not put it into effect immediately.

Intendancies were first established in the border provinces of New Spain—in Sonora and Sinaloa as early as 1768, and in Louisiana by 1775.⁶ Originally Gálvez intended to form a new viceroyalty in the northern part of New Spain. The

⁴ José María Zamora y Coronado, *Biblioteca de legislación ultramarina* (Madrid, 1844-46), III. 598 *et seq.*

⁵ Informe y plan de intendencias . . . de Nueva España. MS.

⁶ Reales cédulas, N. 150, libro 102, N. 161, libro 103 (Archivo General); Bernardo de Otero to Arriaga, New Orleans, June 15, 1775, A. G. I., 86-5-21.

organization of the *Provincias Internas* was the preliminary movement for this change, but after the introduction of the intendancies the question of the new viceroyalty was dropped. The northern territories still constituted the *Provincias Internas* and were under the control of a commandant general. In 1777 the intendancy of Venezuela was created. Also the intendancies of Buenos Aires and Córdoba were established several years before the Ordinance of Intendants for Buenos Aires was issued.⁷

In drawing up the Ordinances of Intendants for both Buenos Aires and Mexico, José de Gálvez, as minister of the Indies, had an active part. In 1778, he proposed a number of changes and additional clauses to be inserted in the original draft.⁸ Some of the opponents of the intendant system in New Spain declared it to be the work of Gálvez and they expected that the innovation would be suppressed after the death of the minister of the Indies.

The Ordinance of Intendants for Buenos Aires was issued in 1782. It is similar to the document of 1786 for New Spain, but much shorter. The new Ordinance was intended to be the civil and political law code for the people and all other laws contrary to it were declared to be annulled. It was modified in 1783, and from that date until Buenos Aires won independence the important piece of legislation was the legal code for the colony. The viceroyalty of La Plata was divided into eight intendancies which took their names from the capital cities. For the most part, the territory of each intendancy was made to coincide with the bishopric within which its capital city was located.⁹ Later another intendancy, which included the Patagonian coast and the Falkland Islands, was added. All the old political governments of the viceroyalty, except those of Montevideo, the thirty towns of the Jesuit

⁷ Antonio Zinny, *Historia de los gobernadores de las provincias Argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1879-1882), I., xxxvii-xxxviii (introduction), 163-165.

⁸ José de Gálvez, Proposals concerning the intendancies, Madrid, October 4, 1778, A. G. I., 146-6-14.

⁹ *Ordenanza . . . de intendentes . . . de Buenos Aires* (Madrid, 1782), art. 1.

missions, Mojos and Chiquitos, which continued as military districts, were abolished.¹⁰

Viceroy Teodoro de Croix introduced the intendant system into Peru in 1784 and the royal approval was obtained a year later. Eight intendancies were established in Peru and they were divided into fifty-seven districts over which subdelegates were placed.¹¹ The application of the Ordinance of Intendants to Chile was delayed until the relation which the southern region was to have to Peru under the new system could be determined. This matter was decided in 1784. Chile was to remain dependent on the viceroyalty of Peru in military and financial affairs. The next year measures were taken to inaugurate the system, but the royal sanction was not given until 1787. The two intendancies of Santiago and Concepción were created. The former was administered by Ambrosio Benavides who had been president of the audiencia and the latter by the governor of the frontier, Brigadier Ambrosio O'Higgins. The *corregidores* and the governors became subdelegates, but they no longer had the right to engage in trade.¹²

In 1786, the Ordinance of Intendants for New Spain was promulgated. It was an attempt to recodify the laws of the Indies and make them workable. The king expected the Ordinance to be a reform that would last for all time, but it proved to have defects, although it was a remarkable piece of legislation. The document was to apply to other parts of Spanish America as far as conditions would permit. It was put into effect in Havana and was also used in Peru. The printed ordinance consists of four hundred and ten pages and has an index of sixty pages more.

The primary purpose of the intendant system was to relieve the overworked viceroy of the eighteenth century.¹³

¹⁰ *Revista del Archivo General de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1869-1872), IV. 104-105, 243.

¹¹ *Memorias de los vireyes que han gobernado el Peru* (Lima, 1859), V. 70-71.

¹² Quesada, V. G., *Historia colonial Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1915), 285-296.

¹³ For the duties of viceroys consult Lillian E. Fisher, *Viceregal Administration in the Spanish-American Colonies* (Berkeley, 1926).

Because of the shortness of his term, the chief executive could not become familiar with all the conditions of the viceroyalty, but intendants would have a chance to be better informed and to specialize in their line of work. They could aid the viceroy in the collection of revenues, the administration of justice, and in all economic matters. They were to be real assistants to him, and thus supply a need which had always been felt in the colonies. For this reason the intendants were to be carefully chosen from among Spanish born subjects, since they were considered more efficient than either creoles or *mestizos*. At the same time, the establishment of the intendancies limited the power of the viceroy, as it took away his supreme control over financial matters. In regard to the treasury, the intendant general was to act with absolute independence of the viceroy, but the chief executive was to continue to exercise all his other powers according to the laws of the Indies. The viceroy still gave instructions to intendants, just as he had done to the former governors. The intendants were subordinate to him in matters of general administration, worship, public instruction, and the judiciary. In military affairs they had to respect all the rights of the viceroy.

Twelve intendancies and three provinces were formed in New Spain. Within these territorial divisions the intendants took full charge of finances and were immediately responsible to the intendant general, who in turn was subject to the council of the Indies. The intendants were appointed by the king and were permitted to correspond directly with him. They performed the duties of the former governors in civil administration and justice. Matters of justice might be appealed over their heads to the audiencias.

A complete change took place in the local government. Subdelegates replaced the corregidores and *alcaldes mayores*, since they had been the cause for long-standing abuses in misappropriation of royal revenues. The new subordinate officials were put in charge of *partidos*, as the divisions of the intendancies were called, and they were not permitted to

receive fees. They were subordinate to the intendant of the province, who at first appointed them, but later the viceroy was given this power.¹⁴ The prosperity of the new system largely depended upon these officials, since good local government is always the basis for all successful national administration.

In 1787 the intendency of Nicaragua was established. Costa Rica remained a military government like that of Montevideo, since it was so far distant from the residence of the intendant. Its governor had jurisdiction in all the departments of government except finance. The intendant of Nicaragua appointed judges of his confidence to collect the revenues of Costa Rica and to take care of all affairs which related to the treasury.¹⁵ From New Spain the intendant system was extended to the distant Philippines, but it was not very successful there. Several times control of financial matters was restored to the governor and then taken away from him.¹⁶

By 1790, the intendant system had been applied to all Spanish America. The three other intendancies of Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador were established in Central America.¹⁷ In 1811, the intendency of Porto Rico was formed. The other West Indian intendancies besides those of Havana and Porto Rico were Puerto Príncipe and Santiago de Cuba.¹⁸

The intendants had many functions to perform under the four departments of justice, general administration, finance, and war. In the department of justice, with the aid of their assessors who had legal training, intendants took cognizance of cases which related to the royal treasury and the financial

¹⁴ *Ordenanza . . . de intendentes . . . de Nueva España*, arts. 2, 7, 9, 12, 299-302.

¹⁵ León Fernández, *Colección de documentos para la historia de Costa Rica* (Barcelona, 1881-1907), V. 212-213.

¹⁶ Zámora y Coronado, III. 620-621.

¹⁷ Domingo Juarros, *Statistical and Commercial History of the Kingdom of Guatemala* (London, 1823), pp. 12 *et seq.*, 207.

¹⁸ *Diccionario universal de historia y de geografía* (Mexico, 1853-56), IV. 293.

system of the viceroalties. Intendants were not held responsible for decisions or sentences which they gave through their assessors. However, they could not make use of assessors whom the king did not appoint for them. When they did not agree with their assessors they could suspend the decision or sentence and consult the superior authority, stating the reasons why they did this in an official document.¹⁹ Appeal from an intendant's verdict went to the *junta superior de hacienda*, or board of finance, which was the highest financial authority in the colonies. Intendants enforced the laws and were to administer justice for the good of the people. They had to see that local justices did not delay judicial cases of first instance. They were the sole judges in cases which pertained to sales and distributions of public lands. They were to protect the Indians and prevent minor officials from tyrannizing over them as the *alcaldes mayores* had done. They took cognizance in first instance of cases of subordinate officials enjoying military privileges.

Intendants exercised the administrative duties of subject officials in the second department as the governors had done before their time. They were continually to make tours of inspection through their provinces to gain information about them, so that they might promote agriculture, industry, commerce, and mining. Intendants or their lieutenants presided over all the municipal councils and public functions of their capitals. They were to see that detailed maps of the provinces were made by capable engineers. Intendants were especially ordered to pay careful attention to the well-being of the people and their morals. They were to devote much of their time to the encouragement of the industries permitted in the colonies. Cultivation of native crops which would not compete with Spanish products was to be increased as much as possible. Every four months intendants were to make crop reports to the viceroy and to the intendant general. Measures were to be taken to work uncultivated lands. Intendants issued land

¹⁹ Cedula, MS., I. 167.

titles which were confirmed by the junta superior. Irrigation was to be used and cattle raising promoted. Intendants provided that bridges and roads were constructed and repaired, that inns were erected for the convenience of travelers, and that the country districts were kept safe. In the towns they supervised street cleaning and paving, the erection and repair of public buildings, water supplies, fire protection, and public granaries. They also determined where the money was to come from for any public improvements. Intendants and their subdelegates had to take care that the current gold and silver coins were not defaced or counterfeited.

The department of finance was the special field of intendants. They were to oversee the proceedings of municipal councils in order to prevent financial abuses. They saw that all the funds of local treasuries, except those needed for common expenditures, were transmitted monthly to the principal treasury of the province. When all the local accounts were closed for the year the intendants sent to the junta superior an extract of each one properly certified by the chief accountant of their province. Intendants were to watch over clerks and notaries so that they would not be careless in drawing up documents or would not try to falsify them. They had to check any misappropriation of public funds. They exercised a supervision over the subtreasuries and decided where to locate new minor treasuries. Every intendant was to keep a general account book of the finances of his province. It showed the funds that entered into the treasury from the various divisions of finance, expenditures, the real estate of the royal patrimony, and the salaries of all treasury employees.

One of the important duties of intendants was to provide for the punctual collection of all revenues. They were to find means to increase them if it could be done honestly. They had to see that leasers of revenues did not oppress the people and that they paid punctually into the treasury the full amount. They were to aid farmers and grant them delay in

the payment of taxes during the months when their crops were being raised. Intendants were to hold weekly meetings at their homes to which treasury officials, administrators, and accountants brought financial reports. Means were discussed to improve, increase, and to better administer the revenues. If serious matters arose which the local juntas could not help to determine, the intendants reported them to the junta superior for its decision. On the first day of each month and at the end of the year intendants and subdelegates had to witness the opening of the coffers. At those times they received monthly and yearly financial statements from the treasury officials. Intendants had power to take action against contraband trade and they tried to prevent frauds in the enforcement of the revenue laws. They were empowered to decide upon individuals who applied for financial positions and to suspend them from office if they were inefficient or of bad conduct.

In the department of war intendants also had charge of the financial end. They and their families enjoyed military privileges and no inferior tribunal could try their cases. Strictly military matters were left to the captain general and to the commanders. Intendants paid the salaries of the troops and furnished supplies. They kept check of troops transferred from one province to another so that they might not be paid twice or receive too many supplies. They saw that food obtained on the march from the people was paid for at the current price of the locality, and that inhabitants did not suffer from levies being made upon them. They controlled all officers of the commissary department, depositories where provisions were stored, and magazines of war. Intendants furnished lodgings and military hospitals for the troops. They took care that monthly reviews were held and that the statements of review were correct, since the pay and allowances of the soldiers were based upon them. They had to oversee the repairs of fortifications and raise the money for them. Intendants did not engage in military undertakings, but they

tried to see that their territories were well defended. They usually coöperated with superior authorities. On the other hand, viceroys and higher officials had to respect and aid all the measures of intendants.²⁰

The question whether the intendant system was successful in Spanish America was much debated. There were powerful supporters of it, yet it aroused a great deal of adverse criticism from the very beginning. There is no doubt that the system checked many of the evils against which it was aimed, but it did not have the complete triumph that was expected. The principal critics of the new institution in America were Cagigal, the governor of Cuba, Viceroys Bucareli, Revillagigedo and Branciforte of New Spain, Villarroel, a Mexican attorney, and Viceroy Teodoro de Croix of Peru. A chief point of contention was that the intendant system interfered with the powers of the viceroy, especially in matters relating to the ecclesiastical vice-patronage and finance. It decreased the dignity of the king's highest representative, since he had to share his authority with officials of enlarged powers.²¹ Viceroys had exercised supreme power for so long that they were unwilling to have it decreased, even if their administrative burdens should be lightened. Many people opposed the abolishment of the repartimientos and with them the chances for colonial exploiters to gain wealth.

Criticism arose because few intendants were outstanding men and the subdelegates were of still inferior rank; while under the old régime there had been a number of renowned governors, some of whom became viceroys.²² The restoration of the superintendency of the treasury to the viceroy made him the busy man that he was before. Thus one of the good results of the new system was undone. The matter of remuneration for subdelegates was never satisfactorily settled.

²⁰ For further duties of intendants see the *Ordenanza . . . de intendentes . . . de Nueva España* or the *Ordenanza . . . de intendentes . . . de Buenos Aires*.

²¹ Croix to the king, Lima, May 16, 1789, A. G. I., 146-6-14.

²² Revillagigedo, *Instrucción reservada* (Mexico, 1831), arts. 823-836.

Some parts of the Ordinances became unworkable, were violated, and had to be annulled.

Many people were generally agreed that further reforms and modifications should be applied to the intendant system. This desire found expression in 1803 when an effort was made to remodel the Ordinances. An entirely new document consisting of two hundred and twenty-six articles was drawn up.²³ It differed a great deal from the former Ordinances, but it proved to be inauspicious and had to be abandoned. The plan might have succeeded if it had provided for the elements of self-government. No further reform seems to have been possible because the eve of Spanish-American independence was too near.

The simplicity of the intendent system was in its favor and it required a smaller number of officials than before.²⁴ It corrected certain long-standing abuses, and intendants did assist the viceroys in their many duties, but perhaps only as the earlier governors had done. It also greatly improved financial administration; however the colonies did not receive much advantage from this, for the chief benefit was obtained by the mother country which always drained the viceroyalties of their resources. It is unfortunate that foreign wars made this necessary and thereby detracted from the usefulness of the new régime. Rather favorable reports concerning the intendancies came from Buenos Aires.²⁵ In spite of adverse criticism, the intendant system infused new life and vigor into a corrupt and decaying colonial administration, and made it possible for Spain to hold its vast American possessions for another half century.

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²³ Zamora y Coronado, III. 379 *et seq.*

²⁴ Revillagigedo to Floridablanca, Mexico, January 15, 1790, A. G. I., leg. 1, num. 55. Papeles de Estado (Audiencia de Mexico).

²⁵ *Revista del Archivo General de Buenos Aires*, III. 267-268; IV. 105-106.

DON JOSÉ ANTONIO DE ARECHE: HIS OWN DEFENSE

In 1776, Don José Antonio de Areche was appointed visitor-general of Peru by Charles III. During the six years of his stay in that viceroyalty there was much discontent, both among the Indians and among the government officials, and Areche has henceforth been characterized as "an infamous wretch",¹ as the person responsible for the revolution of Tupac-Amaru,² and as an inefficient administrator who was allowed to commit all manner of crimes with scarcely any punishment. He has been cited as an example of a visitor who lacked knowledge of colonial matters,³ no regard being paid to the ten years which he served in Mexico as *fiscal* before his appointment to Peru.

The purpose of this paper is to present the case of Areche in the light of the information contained in his own letters, in his official reports, and in the documents which record the action of the supreme council of the Indies concerning the Areche-Guirior trial.⁴ These letters are doubtless biased, but at any rate they picture another side of the situation.

For the better understanding of the difficulties that confronted Areche, the writer will sketch very briefly the conditions in Peru during the first half of the eighteenth century, basing these remarks principally upon the material contained

¹ Clements R. Markham, *A History of Peru* (Chicago, 1892), p. 209.

² *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³ Bernard Moses, *Spain's Declining Power in South America*, University of California Semi-Centennial Publications (Berkeley, 1919), p. 177. Cited by Lillian Estelle Fisher, *Viceregal Administration in America*, University of California Publications in History, XV. (Berkeley, 1926), p. 39.

⁴ For copies of these letters and documents and permission to use them, the writer is indebted to Professor Arthur Scott Aiton of the University of Michigan, who obtained these copies from the originals in the Archivo General de Indias. Throughout this paper the references to A. G. I. are to Estante 111, Cajon 1 Legajo 8, unless otherwise noted.

in the secret report⁵ of Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio Ulloa presented to the Spanish government during the reign of Ferdinand VI.

These men were amazed to witness the oppression of the Indians, the abuse of those who governed them, and to see the corruption of the clergy, except the Jesuits, to whom they gave due praise. They found a vast territory governed by men who were guided solely by their own interests, a government so corrupt that no one was able to make a true representation of the facts without becoming his own accuser. The laws in the main were just and humane, yet they were disregarded to such an extent that the average Indian was nothing more than a slave, and received worse treatment than that given to a beast of burden. Chief among the oppressors were the *corregidores*, who were so insatiable in their thirst for wealth that "they spare no pains to accumulate it, in entire confidence that, when their term of office expires, they shall be absolved from every charge by offering a bribe to the judge on whom it devolves to audit their accounts".⁶ The Indians were supposed to be free from paying tribute until they had completed their eighteenth year, and were to be exempt after the age of fifty-five, yet the *corregidores* not only obliged the young to pay tribute before the time specified, but exacted it from the old, from the idiots, and from other unfortunate individuals who were exempt by law. The distribution system (*repartimiento*) was much abused by the *corregidores* too. Instead of purchasing the articles best suited to the needs of the Indians and selling them at reasonable prices, they again sacrificed the Indians in order to satisfy their own avarice.

⁵ Don Jorge Juan y Don Antonio de Ulloa, *Noticias Secretas* (London, 1826). These two Spanish admirals were members of a French scientific expedition which, in 1736, visited the South American continent with the object of ascertaining the precise length of a terrestrial degree upon the equator. They were also commissioned by the marquis of Ensenada to make a careful inquiry into the true political condition of the viceroyalties visited, and, since the government officials were caught somewhat off their guard, these admirals were able to give a faithful representation of the conditions in Peru.

⁶ *Noticias Secretas*, Parte II, Cap. i, p. 255.

The Indians were obliged to take whatever had been allotted them, however undesirable the articles were, or however difficult the payments might be. Some of these articles were: silk stockings, velvet, silk, satin, mirrors, padlocks, razors, writing paper, pens, playing cards, combs, rings, buttons, books, playlets, lace, ribbons, etc. Desirable as these things might have been to an European, they were not the commodities needed by the poverty stricken Indians. Had they been slaves their condition would have been much better, for when it was necessary for a slave to suspend his work, it was the master who lost. Under the *mita*⁷ system, it was the Indian who always suffered. On the estates of the first class, an Indian earned from fourteen to eighteen pesos a year, and from that was deducted the tribute of eight pesos paid by the employer. At the maximum salary he was left with ten pesos to maintain himself and his family if he had one.

This same report points out the fact that the *corregidores* were in the majority of cases destitute upon their arrival, yet in their brief term of office, which was limited to five years, they were able to make a gain of seventy thousand pesos, and sometimes more than two hundred thousand. At the end of the administration a judge was sent to audit the accounts, and by substantial bribes, it was easy for the corregidor to see himself established as one who had ruled well, injured no man, and treated the Indians kindly. The viceroys, too, were not immune to this desire for wealth; as appears from the following:

From the time the viceroys enter Peru, there begins among its inhabitants the striving for courtly favor and grace; gold and silver are lavished profusely, converted into gifts of vases and jewels of extreme value. After this first occasion, when generosity begins the battle against the integrity and honesty of the viceroy, there follow other celebrations such as his birthday, the value of the gifts being so high that it is often eighty or ninety thousand pesos more than his legitimate salary.⁸

⁷ *Mita*, an annual conscription of Indians drawn by lot and placed under the absolute control of the directors of mines.

⁸ *Noticias Secretas*, Parte II, Cap. vii, p. 462.

A viceroy of New Spain, in the report to his successor, pictures a similar condition in that country:

If the one who comes to govern this kingdom does not often remember that the most severe auditing that shall be taken of him is that conducted by God in his own judgment, he can be more exacting and more tyrannical than the Grand Turk himself, for there will be no evil which cannot be easily hidden, nor tyranny which will not be endured.⁹

Such then were the conditions in Peru, yet during the reign of Ferdinand VI. no direct move was made to correct them. With the accession of Charles III. several reforms were introduced, but their object was not so much to better the condition of the Indians, as to limit the power of the officials, to establish closer supervision, and to eliminate those abuses which cut down the revenue so much desired by the crown. To this end, the ministers of state, of the Indies, and of the *hacienda* were instructed to meet jointly once each week. Means of prompt and regular communication were established with the viceroyalties. By the decree of August 24, 1764,¹⁰ a boat left the port of Coruña at the beginning of every month, carrying all the mail bound to the Indies; this mail was then unloaded in Havana and from there distributed in smaller boats to Vera Cruz, Portobelo, Cartagena, the islands of Barlovento, and the provinces of La Plata. The same procedure was followed with the return mail. Special visitors vested with great power and authority were sent to inspect and remedy the conditions of all branches of public administration. In 1765, Don José de Gálvez was appointed visitor-general of New Spain, and in 1776, Don José Antonio de Areche was sent to Peru with the same title and with the same mission.

Concerning Areche's early life, the present writer has been

⁹ Instruction of Viceroy Duke of Linares to his successor, the Marquis of Valero, quoted by Lucas Alamán *Historia de México* (Mexico, 1849), I., Cap. ii, p. 43.

¹⁰ Ferrer del Río *Reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid, 1856), I., Libro I, Cap. v, p. 452.

unable to find much material. He was born somewhere around the year 1737,¹¹ was of good parentage,¹² and apparently possessed some wealth.¹³ In a letter to Don Pedro de Acuña,¹⁴ July 28, 1792, he gives a hurried review of his past services in both Mexico and Peru. He states that in 1765, that is, when he was about twenty-eight years old, he was appointed by Charles III. to serve as *oidor* in the *real audiencia* of Manila, and in 1766, being en route in Mexico, he was promoted to the office of *fiscal* of the criminal courts of Mexico. In 1768 he was made *fiscal* of the civil court in addition to his other office. In 1776, at the age of forty, he was sent to Peru as the visitor-general of all the tribunals of justice and the *real hacienda*,

¹¹ A. G. I., 91-5-25, Extracto del expediente tocante la Licencia que pide para casarse Don Joseph Antonio de Areche, Fiscal de la Audiencia de Mexico, 17 de junio de 1771. "Expone en el insinuado memorial el enunciado Don Joseph Antonio de Areche hallarse con mas de treinta y quatro años de edad, y destinado a un pais, donde por su distancia de la Corte, son largos los recursos, y por consiguiente precisa la prebencion de los acontecimientos; por lo que pide a S. M. se digne de concederle su Real Licencia para que en caso de proporcionarsele el contraer matrimonio en el territorio de la jurisdiccion de la mencionada Audiencia no se le ponga embarazo alguno, dispensandole a este fin las Leyes que hablan de este punto."

¹² A. G. I., Consejo de Yndias en pleno de tres Salas, Madrid, 1 de Abril de 1789. "Su llamado antagonista [Areche], a pesar de ser un Ministro condecorado de un Supremo Consejo, de su noble nacimiento . . . se ve puesto en tanta controversia."

¹³ A. G. I., Representacion ultima de Areche, Madrid, 7 de Abril de 1789. "Antes de empezar a servir al Rey tenia mucho mas de lo que tengo ahora: Confieso que me ha mantenido y honrrado en las comisiones y Plazas que he servido, y esto vale mas en mi estimacion que lo que dejo de tener desde que estoi en esta carrera."

¹⁴ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche a don Pedro de Acuña, Bilbao, 28 de julio de 1792. "En el año de 1765 me nombro el Señor Carlos 3º para ir a servir una plaza de oidor en la Real Audiencia de Manila y hallandome de transito en Mexico me ascendio en el de 66 a la de fiscal del crimen de aquel Reyno, y en el de 68 a la de lo civil; cuyos dos encargos unidos despache con todo honor y los elogios que constan en la Residencia que se me tomo y se consulto con Su Magestad hasta que en el año de 76 dispuso que pasase al Peru con el caracter de Yntendente de Egercito y el de Visitador General de todos los tribunales de justicia y Real Hacienda incluso los de Chile y Provincias del Rio de la plata, condecorandome para estas arduisimas comisiones con una plaza togada de numero en el Supremo consejo de Yndias y entre otras gracias con una cruz pensionada en la Real Orden de su nombre."

including those of Chile and the provinces of the River Plate, being further honored at this time with an appointment to the bench of the supreme council of the Indies, and with the decoration of the Royal Order of Charles III. In 1780 he was made general superintendent of the real hacienda of Peru.

While in Mexico, Areche, in 1771,¹⁵ sent a petition to the king stating his desire to marry, and asking that the laws of the Indies be dispensed with in his case so that he might do so. Nothing is given concerning the identity of the lady in question or the outcome of the petition. Something about his legal activities in Mexico can be learned through his reports which are mentioned in the works of Bancroft,¹⁶ Bolton,¹⁷ Chapman,¹⁸ Engelhardt,¹⁹ and Priestley,²⁰ but on the whole this period is still rather obscure. At the completion of Areche's term of office in Mexico, the viceroy, Antonio Bucarely y Ursua, stated in a letter "that Peru is getting a good visitador".²¹ From such statements, and above all, from his rapid promotions, we are justified in concluding that his work in Mexico must have been highly satisfactory. In the latter part of 1776 plans were made to carry him to Peru on board the ship *Santiago*;²² the king approved the plans on March 19, 1777, so Areche must have arrived in Peru sometime about the middle of that year.

As we have seen in the preceding pages, the situation in Peru was indeed acute, and the very wealth of the country

¹⁵ See Note 11.

¹⁶ H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), I. 209, 214.

¹⁷ H. E. Bolton *Texas in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century*, University of California Publications in History, III. (Berkeley, 1915), . . . 115-116, 401-404, 428.

¹⁸ Charles E. Chapman, *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias For the History of the Pacific Coast and American Southwest*, University of California Publications in History, VIII. (Berkeley, 1919), . . . 238, 253, 256.

¹⁹ Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1913), II. 115, 121, 124, 279.

²⁰ Herbert I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, University of California Publications in History, V. (Berkeley, 1916), pp. 62 and 239.

²¹ Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 436, 450.

was at the root of all the trouble. The corregidores mistreated the Indians because they wished to amass as much wealth as possible, and their dishonesty made further dishonesty imperative, for the judges that audited the accounts had to be bribed. In exchange for privileges and exemptions from the government, large sums of money were offered to those who had influence with the viceroy. In cases of dispute, each faction tried to win the support of the government, and the result was more strife and intrigue. The exemptions decreased the amount of revenue collected, and this, in the eyes of the Spanish monarch, was the greatest abuse of all. Administrators were judged as good or bad, in accordance with the amount of revenue that was made to flow into the Spanish treasury.

In a report²³ to Don Fernando Marqués de la Plata, Areche pictures the condition in which he found the viceroyalty upon his arrival:

However much I try, I could never give you a complete idea of the state in which I found the kingdom upon my appointment as visitor-general. His Majesty knew about the disorder of the superior tribunals of justice, of the real hacienda, and of the corruption of their subordinate officials, but he could not know about the impression, the ideas, and the customs which all who lived in this kingdom had developed as a result of these disorders.

He desired that the superior tribunals of justice should be regulated in accordance with the laws, eliminating the intrigues which existed in them, purging them from private interests that led ministers, vitiated by power and business, to promote the development of their own land and holdings by the protection of their positions.

He commanded me to bring about order from the confusion and fraud existing in the management of the royal revenue, establishing not only the just duties, but their regulated and punctual exaction.

²³ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche a don Fernando Marqués de la Plata. Lima, 1 de Febrero de 1783. A royal order dated September 8, 1781 instructed Areche to report to Don Fernando Marqués de la Plata concerning the administration of Viceroy Guirior. The judge arrived in Lima on December 12, 1782.

He also desired to be observed the law permitting the appeal of decisions of the viceroy to the real audiencia.

Continuing, he states that as soon as he had sounded the kingdom he realized the difficulties of his commission, and that he had to deal not only with the abuses which were known as such, but also with those that custom had come to regard as legitimate practices. He sets forth the policy underlying the laws—to divide equally the authority between the viceroys and the audiencia, leaving to the first the matters of defense, *patronato*,²⁴ and the administration of the government; and to the latter all the cases of justice and those which are related to justice, thus making the ministers not entirely independent of the viceroys, but with enough protection to guarantee their not being forced in their decisions. He says that this wise practice had been neglected and abandoned in Peru, and that the viceroys had appropriated to themselves all authority.

They confirmed the nominations of the governors and corregidores, how and when they desired; the cases of justice were brought to them, and there was no remembrance of any appeal having been made from their decisions; law-suits against those who had won their favor, or the favor of their secretaries and assessors, were placed in the secretary's office and there they would remain for years, without any tribunal daring to act upon them. When they wished to cover their decisions with some semblance of honesty, these were sent for the deliberation of the *tribunal de acuerdo*, the viceroy knowing that he could count upon votes which were the slaves of his will. There were always those who, in order to further their own interests or to advance the claims of some client, were anxious to gain the good will of the viceroy. The elections for the vacancies in the religious orders depended entirely upon the viceroy, so there was keen rivalry between the candidates in their efforts to win the favor of the government. All joined in celebrating the idol from whom they expected all their happiness, and from whose hand depended their honor, their wealth, and even their life. All joined in commending and praising even his defects and vices. They lavished upon the viceroys the titles of

²⁴ *Patronato*, the oversight of ecclesiastical affairs, and of pious institutions.

“Prince” and “Sovereign Authority” from the tribunals, the pulpits, and the schools, paying in these and other demonstrations the honors due only to royalty. The name of the *visitadores* was considered only in connection with the disturbances and tumults caused by them.

In another letter,²⁵ written shortly after his arrival, he states again that the infirmity suffered by these provinces was common to all who were living in them. Until 1766, New Spain had suffered from the same malady; but its correction was started in the government of the marquis of Croix, under the commission of the great master José de Gálvez, and was heroically carried on under the righteous leadership of Viceroy Bucarely, and example which was being followed by Viceroy Guirior. He was scandalized by the abuses in the system of distribution to the Indians and, by the frequency of the rebellions. During the past few days three corregidores had been killed, and, he felt, if this bad business was not stopped, these tumults would be more serious. All the provinces were clamoring that the corregidores be prohibited from distributing products and regulating commerce in the tyrannical manner in which they were doing. He had seen with his own eyes the distribution of frilled shirts, fine linen, playing cards, whiskey, and many articles of silk to the Indians. Drawing a comparison between Peru and Mexico he adds:

There is no comparison whatever between this country and Mexico. There is justice there in general; here tyranny is common. There the Indian takes what suits him; here what the corregidor distributes. There they have freedom in buying; here it is forced, and this causes the provinces to be in a state of uncertainty. The bishops preach against this abuse; there is no one who does not recognize this evil; but all look at each other without bothering to cure or correct it. The lack of righteous judges, the mitas of the Indians, and the provincial commerce have made corpse of this America. The corregidores are interested only in themselves. The mitas include thirty

²⁵ Real Academia de la Historia, *Manuscritos sobre América*, Tomo VIII, p. 611. Quoted by Danvila y Collado, *Reinado de Carlos III*. (Madrid, 1896), V., Cap. vi. . . . 418-422.

thousand men who are brought from a distance of thirty, forty, sixty, a hundred, and even two hundred and three hundred leagues to work in the mines of Potosí and Huancavélica. There is no heart which is hard enough to endure seeing and hearing these Indians take their last leave of home, for if a hundred are taken, only twenty come back. My dear friend, how near everything is to ruin here, if these terrible abuses are not corrected, for they have been going on a long time, and they are very near their tragic end if a remedy is not taken in preference.

The position of a visitor was indeed an awkward one. Two courses only were open to him: to carry out the instructions of the king and see that all revenue was collected, thus incurring the hatred of both the officials and the Indians; or to disregard these orders, follow the path of least resistance, and later perhaps be recalled in disgrace by the king. Areche apparently chose the first, but he suffered the penalty of both alternatives.

In 1776, Don Manuel de Guirior had been appointed viceroy of Peru. He was a native of Navarre, belonged to the family of San Francisco Javier, and was a member of the order of San Juan. He had been viceroy of the newly established viceroyalty of Granada, and had married Doña Maria Ventura, a young lady of Bogotá.²⁶ He had also been an officer in the royal armada, and was one of the captains in the fleet which went to Naples to escort Charles III. upon his accession to the throne of Spain.²⁷ He seems to have been of a conciliative disposition, and was well liked by the people in Lima. Areche's characterization of him,²⁸ though doubtless prejudiced, is extremely interesting:

The most Excellent Sr. D. Manuel de Guirior succeeded a viceroy who had been hated in the kingdom and in the capital for the harsh manner in which he treated all people; Guirior, either on account of his temperament or policy, had followed the opposite course. His

²⁶ Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones Peruanas* (Barcelona, 1893), I, 335.

²⁷ Danvila y Collado, *op. cit.*, II, 12.

²⁸ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche a don Fernando Marques de la Plata. Lima, 1 de Febrero de 1783.

palace was the gathering place (*tertulia*) of all the city; his table, savory and abundant, was free to all friends and strangers; his hand and hat searched for people whom he could greet as friends; his conversation was frank, easy, and general; the attendance of the gentlemen who paid court to his wife made his palace more brilliant and pleasant; in short, all breathed diversion, mutual satisfaction, and pleasure.

As to my case, I experienced at my arrival the greatest attention. They crowned me with so many favors that had I not had to care for other interests than my own, I would have abandoned them or postponed them in order to serve and pay homage to these officials. But, since my time did not belong to me but to the king and to the public, I was urged by my instructions to free the country from the abuses which oppressed it. I found myself in the hard necessity of stripping this giant of authority of all the abuses which custom had canonized. I realized the serious consequences which would result from opposing the viceroys, both on account of the great authority and on account of the respect, partly usurped and partly legitimate, which they possessed, and of the particular praise which a new and popular viceroy enjoyed. I was in doubt as to the means I should employ in seeing that my resolutions should not suffer impediments and difficulties, or produce any commotion, knowing well that the people who practiced this fraud were friends of the viceroy and were interested in the continuance of the confusion. To avoid these inconveniences I decided that it was better to avail myself of the authority of the viceroy. The circumstances seemed favorable: I noticed that Sr. Guirior was touched with the desire of glory, and through this, I tried to move him by picturing the honor which would result from his being able, during his administration, to eradicate so many vices and abuses, and what he could hope for from the generous hand of the king, as a compensation for a service so worthy of being appreciated and rewarded.

At first all went well. Areche gave to Guirior in private a copy of his instructions, and began to repress smuggling, to make new lists of the Indian population, to regulate the accounts in all branches of the government, and to collect the enormous past debts. Soon, however, as he states,²⁹

²⁹ *Ibid.*

the assessors, secretaries, and attendants who saw the fountains of their interest going dry, began to speak ill of my commission, and, hating my friendship with the viceroy, they succeeded by jokes and tales in harming it. They could not destroy it as much as was necessary for their purposes, for the viceroy still maintained respect for the orders of the king, and hoped that after a short *visita* he would be left in liberty, and yet be accredited with having sustained his instructions.

Areche had been instructed to put into operation a new tax rate of six per cent on articles imported from Europe and on those manufactured in the country. This order, which was entrusted to Areche, was made known to Guirior so that he could help in its execution, and Areche claimed that before his arrival at Lima, the viceroy had carried out its provisions. It was an extremely advantageous tax for the European trade, for the previous one had been of twelve per cent and Areche states³⁰ that

the viceroy was obliged to humor the *tribunal del consulado* because in their entries they had favored him by placing twelve thousand pesos to his name, six to that of his wife, and two to that of his secretary, a record which will be found in the secret expense account of the tribunal for that year.

The articles manufactured in the country were in the opposite case, for until then the tax had been four per cent, and by virtue of the new law was increased to six per cent.³¹

When they were beginning to collect these duties, I arrived at the capital and began to manage the business of the *visita*, thus the complaints and lamentations of those who suffered by the tax were against me, because they could see it coincide in time with my arrival. No one said that the king had ordered the increase, nor that the viceroy had had it executed, but that the new visitador had disposed it thus, and that to this increase there would follow many more. These voices were scattered and encouraged by the intimates and attendants of the viceroy with an air of mystery that increased the horror of the *visita*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

and his decisions. Those interested in the trade with Europe were in silent enjoyment of the decrease, while the others spread their complaints throughout the city and the kingdom.

Other difficulties soon followed. The new *regente*,³² who had arrived at the same time as Areche, tried to put into practice the right of appeal to the real audiencia of the decisions rendered by the viceroy. At the advancement of the first appeal, the viceroy, influenced by his assessor,³³ had the lawyer who had signed it, Don Juan José Vidal, placed in the *presidio* of Callao. This and other disputes brought about differences which of necessity also affected Areche. There were disagreements concerning the appointment of a priest to the chapter of San Agustín, concerning the salaries of the professors in the University of San Marcos, the levying of the worked silver (*Ordenanzas de Plateros*), the management of the mines of Huancavélica, the establishment of the law school in Lima, the uprisings in Arequipa, the appointments of the priests, Don Pedro de Landaeta and Don Manuel de Castellanos. Areche goes into these matters in great detail, and includes the *virreyna* in these intrigues.³⁴

The *virreyna* had asked me many times to persuade her husband to change his secretary, Don Pedro de Ureta. I excused myself on several occasions, but finally her entreaties, which I thought were prompted by her interest in the honor of her husband, won me over. . . . I spoke to the viceroy, and he promised to see that Don Pedro de Ureta would be removed when I returned from Huancavélica. Who would have believed that the *virreyna* would betray me to Don Pedro de Ureta? that she would join him and all others in making the viceroy believe that I had converted him into a figure head;³⁵ that I ruled him; that I meddled with things which did not concern me; that I wished to control the university, the chapters of the friars, his secretaryship, and in short, all the kingdom? that this was lacking

³² Possibly Don Melchor Jacot.

³³ The Marqués de Sotoflorida, who later served as Guirior's attorney.

³⁴ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche a don Fernando Marques de la Plata. Lima 1 de Febrero de 1783.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, "Lo tenia hecho un Virrey de palo."

in respect to his authority and person; and that on account of this he was the laughingstock of all men of judgment who, recognizing in him so many superior qualities, could not understand why he had let himself become subject to a *golilla*,³⁶ a young man without experience³⁷ and talent. They pictured to him the authority of the viceroys with the most brilliant colors; they showed him a decree in which the king calls them the *alter ego*; they called to his attention all the deeds, truthful or imaginary, of his ancestors; in short, they filled him with all examples which they felt necessary for flattering his vanity and for belittling my person and commission. He found the same sentiment expressed on all sides. . . . In the midst of this situation, they invited me to a picnic which they had prepared, or rather to a triumphal cavalcade which they made through the city, the *virreyna* included. I, who saw clearly that my hopes had been upset, and that the viceroy, instead of helping me as he had done before, was studying means of contradicting and discrediting my commission, felt that it was useless to continue in an apparent intimacy which to a certain measure implied my being in favor of his decisions. I felt myself responsible to God and to the king, and so I resolved not to attend the picnic and cavalcade, and, excusing myself on the grounds of illness and of that day being the one for the mail, I sent my secretary.³⁸ . . . My failure to attend the picnic sounded the alarm for the flatterers: they hastened to paint it to the viceroy as an offense, as an insult to his dignity, and, above all, to his wife. All these ponderings were so exaggerated that they disturbed his soul, and he broke out against me into as low and disgraceful deprecations as anger can produce; they were such that I am ashamed to repeat them. He was not satisfied in uttering them before his own friends, who were many, but went in search of mine in order to display the same anger to them. Having gone this far, he began slandering my commission. He would say publicly that the visitors only served to stir up commotion among the people, as had happened in the case of the last visitor

³⁶ *Golilla*, a kind of collar worn by the magistrates of some superior courts of justice. Colloquially it was used also to designate the magistrate who wore the *golilla*, or was used by military men to designate those who were following more peaceful professions.

³⁷ Areche was at this time in his early forties, while Guirior, who was born March 21, 1708, was past seventy.

³⁸ Don Francisco de Uralde, who later was made *contador* of the customs of Lima.

in Mexico; that the first visitador which America had had, paid for his iniquities with his head in the plaza of Valladolid. He repeated all the stories which he had heard from his intimates about the *alter ego*, the power of the viceroys, etc., for he is one of those fellows who make theirs all the thoughts which they hear and which flatter their vanity, and later produce them as being their own before the very people who have inspired them. His effort was to make his authority evident, and thus he repeated the deeds which seemed to lead him to that end. As the principal one seemed to be to minimize my authority and my commission, he directed all thrusts at them. If I accused a smuggler, he would defend him. If I tried to settle with a bad administrator, he would protect him. If I accused a debtor of the real hacienda, he would give him aid. If I sent him notices for promoting the business of the inspection of *cajas*, *azogues*, and other branches, he would not answer them. . . . The copies of my instruction, which I handed to him with the greatest secrecy, were being read in the cafes by Don Juan Gómez, and were being scattered; at least Don Juan Muñoz picked up one in Cajamarca which I have in my possession, and copies were seen in the hands of Don Antonio Boza and others.

If I had to relate in detail all the insults and contradictions which I suffered, this report would be endless. I have only mentioned these because his Majesty has reproached him for the majority of them, a fact which caused him to change the object of his deprecations, and to make his injuries more execrable by including in them the supreme council of the Indies, and its excellent chief. This terrible disrespect was precipitated by the six royal orders which I enclose. As he was reproached in all of them for his laxity and susceptibility to flattery, he was aroused to a passion which was almost delirium, and which made the very authors of his first anger fear for the results. He said that the most excellent minister was a crazy man, that he had ruined Mexico, and now wished to ruin Peru; that his hobby (*tarantela*) was the six per cent tax with which he had ruined the commerce of New Spain; that the law concerning free trade was the greatest foolishness imaginable; that he was deceiving the king; that the orders which he sent in his name were false, and that the king knew nothing about them. I have strong reason to believe that he dared to write thus to the minister. Finally, the absurdities which he spoke and wrote were so many that his Majesty decided suddenly to have him removed.

. . . The strange thing is that he, being so lacking in discretion and control, should have had, in the city, the general sympathy of the officials, lettered men, and religious men. But such was the enthusiasm, the caprice or the delirium with which they were impressed that Sr. Guirior was suffering because of his defense of the country, because he contradicted unjust laws, because he championed the cause of the natives, and because he was opposed to the destructive anti-American measures of the minister. . . . The commotion was such that, though the new viceroys are the idol of these provinces, the one who came to succeed Sr. Guirior was forgotten, and they paid him only ceremonious courtesies, rushing hurriedly to console the deposed one. . . .

A few months after Guirior's departure, there occurred the revolution of Joseph Gabriel Condorcanqui (*alias* Tupac-Amaro). I left hurriedly for Cuzco to quiet it and to punish the rebel. This action, in all respects generous, since it was not obligatory upon me, instead of moving the hearts of the inhabitants of this city to gratitude, was rewarded by calumny and deprecation. In the *tertulias* and gatherings they predicted with delight my death and destruction. They hurled satires and insults at my officials and attendants; they spoke ill of the council of the Indies; they did not wish the rebellion to be of the Indians alone because of the extortion of the corregidores, but also of the *mestizos* and of all the kingdom because of the customs and new taxes. . . . When I ascended the mountains to those provinces where the trouble was, I found my name regarded with horror because of the letters from Lima which had preceded me. I should confess, though, that the hearts of the vassals of Peru are loyal and naturally inclined to their sovereigns, and that when I called them to my side, they turned with courage and with unselfishness against the Indians. The white people of these high provinces are simple and well disciplined, capable of resisting the movements of the Indians and even the attacks of external enemies. The same would have happened in this city and its valleys if they had not been preoccupied in this time of crisis with the sorrow of losing one whom they believed to be their protector and defender, and of seeing the triumph of those whom calumny and slander painted as being their enemies. I do not blame the people. By their temperament they are docile and disposed to be swayed more by good examples than by harshness, and thus I have informed his Majesty. I know the tender-

ness of his merciful heart; with it I hope he will temper the severity of his justice, and that he will look upon his vassals as delinquent and mislead sons, to whom punishment will be administered only in order to direct them into the paths of truth. In this manner, if it is permissible for me to give this advice, I believe these vassals should be regarded, and in like manner, the cause of Sr. Guirior. I know his weakness for speaking, his lack of restraint, and his anger against those whom he believes to contradict him; and I realize the evils which have resulted from those weaknesses. But at the same time, I consider that his age exposes him to such weakness; that his profession, to a certain extent, authorizes with custom this kind of language; and that these habits were encouraged by flattery. These things caused him to receive with pleasure and applause the murmurings against the laws of Castile and the praise of those of Navarre; that he should call the Castilians "dishonest" (*unos sucios*), the Andalusians "traitors", and the remaining provinces by other similar epithets; that he should speak with greatest scorn of the council of the Indies every time it disapproved one of his resolutions; that he should mock and deride the *golillas*. All of this was received as wit, and was repeated as an axiom.

To conclude, permit me to make a few suggestions which I would omit had you been longer in residence in this capital. And this is the care which you should employ in this *causa reservada*. You must take into account the fact that, though all the inhabitants are not partisans of Sr. Guirior, at least most of them sympathize with him because of his age, his affability, and his urbanity. And, though none are ignorant of the manner in which he spoke, they attribute it to old age and military customs. You realize the difficulty of proving statements and words which do not leave traces or signs and which remain only in the memory of those who heard them, especially when to this is added the general propensity of man not to be classed with the accusers, but to sympathize with the accused, and to take use of equivocal words, ambiguous expressions, and other subterfuges which man avails himself of, when, without lying or wishing to lie, he does not wish to tell the truth. In this kind of expediency the minds of this country are very fertile, and they have such a habit of dissimulation that it is not easy to penetrate the subterfuges when they wish their thoughts to be concealed. You must also know that it is almost impossible to maintain secrecy here. These people are infi-

nately sagacious in questioning and in introducing themselves into confidences. . . .

In order to deal with these inconveniences, it seems to me best that you should keep in mind the following suggestions: First, that you should not make use of any clerk in the declarations which you take in this case, but that you should authorize them yourself. Second, that you should make clear to those whom you call, the desire which the king has to verify the deeds and statements concerning which they may be questioned, and the just indignation and punishment to which they expose themselves if they should disfigure or conceal the truth. Third, that you should state to them that this is a *causa reservada* and different from the *residencia*, and as such must go to the hands of the king, so that the names of the declarers will remain entirely hidden and known only to the king. Fourth, that in your questionnaire you should demand very clear, very positive information, and in addition, you should give the declarers an opportunity to add any material which their conscience or their love for the king might move them to present. Fifth, that you should enjoin them to maintain the greatest silence, with the penalty of incurring the indignation of the king if they have failed in this. Without this admonition, the first person who declares will make known the questions to the others and they will be ready to answer with subterfuges. It only remains to me to point out those people whom you might call for testimony.³⁹

Such, then, was the report which Areche, fulfilling the royal order of September 8, 1781,⁴⁰ handed to Don Fernando Marqués de la Plata on February 1, 1783. A copy of the same report was sent to Don José de Gálvez.⁴¹ The judge was commissioned, in addition to taking the *residencia* of Guirior, to ascertain the truth concerning four points:⁴²

1. If the viceroy, while exercising his authority, expressed

³⁹ In justice to Areche we should add that in this list there are the names of many men who were close friends of Guirior and who were his gambling cronies.

⁴⁰ A. G. I., Consejo de Yndias en pleno de tres Salas. Madrid, 1 de Abril de 1789.

⁴¹ A. G. I., Carta de Don Joseph Antonio de Areche a Don Joseph de Galvez. Lima, 5 de Febrero de 1783.

⁴² A. G. I., Consejo de Yndias en pleno de tres Salas. Madrid, 1 de Abril de 1789.

himself in public and in private conversations with little respect towards the laws of those domains and towards the dispositions sent to him in the name of the king.

2. If he often manifested himself not only displeased and opposed to the superior minister and the council of the Indies, but was accustomed to break forth into scandalous deprecations against the one and the other, to the surprise and pernicious example of those who heard him.

3. If he manifested the greatest opposition to the regulation of various branches of the *real erario*, speaking ill of the *visita* and of his operations, making them thereby odious.

4. If he disposed or consented that they should make a public celebration in Lima with the scandalous title of *coronation*.

This report of Don Fernando Marqués de la Plata was completed on December 22, 1783, and was presented to the council of the Indies on July 28, 1784.⁴³

Meanwhile, Areche had returned to Spain. In a letter⁴⁴ to Don José de Gálvez, Lima, December 16, 1782, he explains that he is not returning on the *Jesus Nazareno* because it is such a frail craft. In another letter,⁴⁵ February 5, 1783, he expresses his desire of leaving in a few days, and his anxiety

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche a don Joseph de Galvez. Lima, 16 de Diciembre de 1782. "En toda esta semana va a salir del Callao la fragata del propio comercio nombrada Jesus Nazareno y la ocupara para irme si fuese mayor embarcacion o de mas buque y mas segura y no tan alterosa y de poca fuerza, en esta virtud espero que el Rey y V. E. no lleven a mal el que yo mire y solicite llegar en estado de servirle de las dos Americas; y asi me prometo de la justificacion de V. E. me alcanzara de su bondad Real la gracia de que piense de este modo para no aventurar mi vida que reparara en mucho menos si no interviniese tal circunstancia y la de la presente Guerra."

⁴⁵ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche a don Joseph de Galvez. Lima, 5 de Febrero de 1783. "Acabada esta Ynstruccion voy a ver si logro salir de aqui dentro de pocos dias en el primer navio que se proporcione para Valparaiso antes de que se cierre el paso de la cordillera de Chile. En la actualidad solo ay uno pequeno pero puede llegar algun otro que, si no tomo este, me conduzca, y quando no mudare mi viaje para hacerle por Nueva España, pues estoy tan impaciente que creo enfermar si no lo consigo."

to get back to Spain. The date of his departure is not given, but Don Francisco de Uralde in a letter⁴⁶ to Don José de Gálvez speaks of fearing the

contingences to which the visitor-general is exposed because of the long and out-of-the-way route which he was obliged to choose on account of the then existing war, and the delay which he may suffer.

From Areche's frequent allusions⁴⁷ to the loss of his baggage and important papers in the shipwreck of the *San Pedro de Alcántara*, we are justified in assuming that he must have sailed on that vessel. This shipwreck⁴⁸ occurred on the coast of Peniche, Portugal, on February 2, 1784. Upon his return to Spain, Areche was made minister of the council of the Indies, a position which he held for four years, and in addition, was rewarded⁴⁹ by Charles III. with a bonus equal to the yearly salary which he had received in Peru so that he might discharge his debts and pay the cost of the trip. Speaking of his lack of funds he says:⁵⁰

My disinterestedness and honesty in the offices which I have held in both Americas are of public knowledge. In them I have known no

⁴⁶ A. G. I., Carta de don Francisco de Uralde a don Joseph de Galvez. Lima, 14 de Noviembre de 1783.

⁴⁷ A. G. I., Representacion ultima de Areche. Madrid, 7 de Abril 1789. "Mi defensa en el Consejo esta hecha en lo mas como notara V. E. con lo que pude sacar de los autos de dicha Pesquiza por haber perdido en el naufragio del Navio San Pedro de Alcantara, no solo mi equipage sino muchos utiles papeles que me hubiesen servido no poco." Also in A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche al Excelentisimo Señor don Pedro de Acuña. Bilbao, 28 de Julio de 1792.

⁴⁸ Conde Fernán-Núñez, "Vida de Carlos III." *Libros de Antaño* (Madrid, 1898), XV. 362.

⁴⁹ A. G. I., Representacion ultima de Areche. Madrid 7 de Abril de 1789. "Al benignisimo Señor Rey Padre de Su Magestad y digno de nuestra mas tierna memoria devi la gracia de que me mandase librar con atencion a mi pobreza un año mas del sueldo que goze en Lima para pagar a mis acrehedores y costos del viaje y aun no estoi desempeñado."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* This statement of Areche is corroborated by the following opinion of two ministers of the council: "The two ministers find the preceding law adapted to the case of Areche, for they cannot deduce any malice from his actions, a minister, who, in all the course of his *visita*, was found to be lacking in self interest and zealous in the royal service." A. G. I., Consejo de Yndias en pleno de tres Salas, Madrid, 1 de Abril de 1789.

partiality nor other welfare than that of the state, and though I received the salary which corresponded to a *visita*, I maintained at my table and at my own cost all the employees of my office, in order not to increase the salaries which had been decided by the king. . . . I also paid for the employment of several clerks whose work was necessary on several occasions, my purpose being to cause no increase in the expense of the Real Hacienda.

On May 7, 1785, the council of the Indies submitted to the king the following advice concerning the administration of Guirior and the charges brought against him:⁵¹

1. That since the investigation in Lima had found some of the charges against Guirior false and others not justified, he should in justice be reinstated to the royal favor.

2. That the council felt sure that the royal order of September 8, 1781, which had commanded the examination of the case, had been formulated because of denunciations and accusations against Guirior.

3. That though the law⁵² protected those people who pointed out to the sovereign and his ministers the crimes and irregularities occurring in the kingdom, such protection was not extended to those who through malice and ill-will tried to cause another's harm by the employment of lies.

4. That according to the instruction given by Visitor Areche to Don Fernando Marqués de la Plata, the former appeared to have suggested the four points covered in the royal order, for in this instruction he himself called attention to many facts of which he had previously informed the king.

5. That, though the council realized that many charges could be true which were not proved, they could not help rec-

⁵¹ These proceedings are reviewed in A. G. I., Consejo de Yndias en pleno de tres Salas. Madrid 1 de Abril, 1789.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Ley 27, título 1, partida 7. Quoted here as follows: "Muestran los omes a las vegadas al Rey, el fecho de la tierra, aperciendolo de los hierros e de las malfetrias que se facen en ella. E quando este apercivimiento facen tan solamente por desengañarlos, non en manera de acusacion, non son tenidos de probar aquello que dicen, nin les deben contreñir, ni apremiar nin darles pena por ello; fueras ende, si se les obligase de probar aquello que dicen o fuere fallado que se movieran a decirlo maliciosamente por mal querencia."

ognizing that malice had prompted other accusations which had been declared false.⁵³

6. That besides containing many unreasonable terms this instruction was full of offensive phrases concerning the viceroy, his profession, his education, and his conduct, and it was not just that such a document as the representation which Areche had made concerning the Law School of Lima should be allowed to circulate, a document which could better be classed as an infamous libel.

7. That, since the viceroy had answered satisfactorily all accusations, and since his recall had possibly been caused by lack of sincerity of the accusations, Visitor Areche and all others who had aided him should be condemned to pay all costs and damages resulting to the viceroy from such accusations.

The king, in answer to this consultation, on August 8, 1785, cleared Guirior of the charges made against him, and ordered that Areche should be heard by the council in both a written and a verbal defense.⁵⁴ Areche, Guirior, and the fiscal were notified of this decision, and permission was asked by Guirior to have printed these documents which established his integrity and honor. This permission was granted to him on August 26, 1785, and he was further honored by having conferred upon him a title of Navarre,⁵⁵ with the denomination of Marquis of Guirior.

⁵³ Seven accusations are here mentioned. "Cargos hechos siniestramente al Virrey Guirior contrarios a los autos de que se dedugeron."

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* "Como parece en quanto a Don Manuel de Guirior; y por lo que respecta a Don Joseph Antonio de Areche, oigale el Consejo en pleno de tres Salas por escrito y de palabra."

⁵⁵ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche al Excelentísimo Señor don Pedro de Acuña. Bilbao, 28 de Julio de 1792. "Aquel justo Soverano premio inmediatamente al señor Guirior con el titulo de Marques de su Apellido entre otras gracias de sueldos ayudas de costa y pension que declaro a su viuda." A. G. I., El Consejo de Yndias en el pleno de tres Salas. Madrid, 1 de Abril de 1789. "Don Manuel de Guirior obtuvo ya las mas honorificas, plausibles, y satisfactorias declaraciones de Vuestra Magestad asi con la Real cedula que se le libro, imprimio y corrio por todo el mundo como por las continuas publicas demonstraciones que devio a la benignidad de la Reales personas de Sus Magestades sensivilizadas y

The decision of the king was interpreted by the fiscal of the council, and it was decided that Areche should formulate his defense in writing, that this be communicated to Guirior so that he might explain whatever was necessary, and that the fiscal should finally pass upon all this and render his report to the council.

On February 6, 1786, the *autos* were ordered to be handed over to Areche, and on February 10, this was done. On November 14, 1786, Guirior complained that Areche had kept the autos for nine months without having finished his defense. On November 25, Areche was notified that he must explain briefly whatever he wished, and submit the explanation with the autos. A second notice was sent on January 25, 1787, and finally on March 17, Areche sent to the secretary of Peru a lengthy answer together with several documents and a list of others which he explained were in the *via reservada*. On April 20, 1787, the autos were handed to Guirior, who returned them on August 3 with a document asking that there be sent to him the reports containing the charges which Areche had made against him.

The plea of Areche was as follows:⁵⁶

That his Majesty and the council should declare that he and his officials had been good and zealous ministers, that in his instruction to the judge he had complied with the royal order of September 8, 1781, and that the fulfillment of duties which had been entrusted to him should not cause him to suffer or lose the royal favor which he had enjoyed.

In the same document, on the other hand, is Guirior's plea:

That his Majesty and the council should declare Areche responsible, not only for the personal satisfaction which his Majesty and the council should deem proportionate to the injury which his [Guirior's]

realizadas con los premios que se le han conferido de un titulo de Navarra libre de lanzas y de una pension de 40,000 reales anuales a su viuda." *The Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano* states that Guirior was given a title of Castile.

⁵⁶ A. G. I., Consejo de Yndias en pleno de tres Salas. Madrid 1 de Abril de 1789.

honor had suffered, but for the reparation of all costs and damages arising from his unexpected recall, a sum which he estimated as being two hundred thousand pesos; that with respect to the insolvency of Areche, his Majesty should be consulted as to the means by which he [Guirior] might be repaid, in part or in full, for all damages; and that suitable steps should be taken against Don Francisco Uralde, secretary of Areche, concerning the part which he had had in the affair.

Areche based his defense on what he had explained in the cited document dated March 17, 1787. He complained of the judge and of the fiscal, and attributed to the power of the viceroy and of his partisans the fact that the examination had resulted in favor of Guirior.

Guirior declared that Areche, far from justifying his assertions, had not done more than amplify uselessly and with greater dishonor to his [Guirior's] reputation, the statements which his majesty and the council had rejected, and that the superficiality with which he touched the points and his mysterious allusions to the *via reservada* were prompted only by the desire of postponing the decision, being convinced of the fatal consequences which he had cause to fear.

The fiscal stated that the reflections and expressions of Areche were vague, general, and beside the point, and that he had unjustly accused the fiscal, for the latter had made use only of legal phrases, the justice of which had already been attested by the advice of the council on May 7, 1785, and by the approval of the king.

The council, after examining the defense of both parties and the recommendation of the fiscal, met again on April 1, 1789.

Meanwhile, however, there occurred the death of Charles III., of Don Manuel de Guirior, and of Don José Gálvez.⁵⁷ The latter, who was the superior minister of the Indies, was Areche's strongest supporter, and though we have no way of

⁵⁷ Charles III. died on December 14, 1788; Don Manuel de Guirior, at Madrid on November 25, 1788; and Don José Gálvez, at Aranjuez on June 17, 1787.

knowing what steps he would have taken in the aid of Areche, it is reasonable to suppose that the outcome of the trial was materially affected by the death of these three men.

The council's advice to the king (Charles IV.) was as follows:⁵⁸

That Don Joseph Antonio de Areche, and all others who should be found guilty in the *via reservada*, should be held responsible for the costs and damages resulting to the deceased Guirior, and that Areche should be retired with whatever salary the king should deem convenient.

Two ministers of the council disagreed with this decision: the *Gobernador* of the council, and Don José Garíca de León Pizarro. The two ministers did not hold the opinion that Areche was a false informer and a malicious calumniator, but that he had acted in all good faith and sincerity, and that he was not responsible for the costs and damages resulting to Guirior. They based this contention on the royal order which asked Areche to furnish all available information. That Areche had no other alternative than to obey, and that it fell to the duty of the judge to examine and weigh the truth of these accusations; that the mere duty of giving secret information did not oblige Areche to serve as a guarantor of what he had heard; that the accusations submitted could very well be true and yet later be denied by those who knew the truth of the matter; that the fact that these accusations might later be found false or not justified did not make the person responsible who had suggested them in the manner in which he had heard them; that in accordance with the ley 27, titulo 1, partida 7,⁵⁹ Areche was cleared of such accusation.

The council replied to this that they had already declared Areche a false informer and had consulted with the king concerning the matter on May 7, 1785.

The two ministers pointed out that if an examination were

⁵⁸ A. G. I., El Consejo de Yndias en el pleno de tres Salas. Madrid, 1 de Abril de 1789.

⁵⁹ See Note 52.

made of the dates, Areche's report would show that it had been made after the recall of Guirior, and that therefore he could not be held responsible for this recall; that to say that preceding information of Areche through the *via reservada* had prepared the blow was to speak through conjecture or to try to sound the secrets of the ministry by mere suspicion; that the viceroy could very well have brought about his ruin through his own actions; that by the royal order of May 8, 1779, the viceroy had been reprovved for his actions concerning agriculture and commerce; and that by another of October 5, 1779, he had been censured for having criticized the regent's instructions, a document which had been drawn up by wise ministers and approved by the king.

The council held that the orders mentioned did not take up matters which could have warranted a recall.

The belief was expressed by the two ministers that the accusations were not so destitute of proof that, though the information might not be sufficient to condemn Guirior, it might at least free Areche from the accusation of "malicious informer".⁶⁰

The council did not agree that these accusations were justified, and referred to what had already been decided by virtue of the advice of May 7, 1785.

It was also contended by Areche's two defenders, the ministers, that the judge commissioned for the inquiry did not follow the advice given by Areche, who, as one acquainted with the conditions, warned him concerning the party which favored Guirior in Lima; the secrecy which the witnesses should maintain; and the advisability of not using a clerk, but of drawing up the case himself. They held that the judge did not heed this advice, and that out of the many witnesses which were named, only eighteen were examined. This fail-

⁶⁰ A. G. I., El Consejo de Yndias en el pleno de tres Salas. Madrid, 1 de Abril de 1789. Eight accusations are here mentioned which are attested by a few witnesses, "y no las destruye el que otros sugetos ignoren el cargo pues cabe muy bien que una especie la sepan pocos y la ignoren muchos que no tubieron ocasion de saberla."

ure, they felt, might have accounted for the lack of sufficient proof, for a deed might well have been known to two or three and be unknown to the rest.

Again the council rejected these contentions and declared⁶¹ that the actions of the judge had received their approval; that they were more firm in their belief that Don Joseph Antonio de Areche, and all others who might result guilty, should be condemned to pay all damages and costs resulting from the recall of the deceased Marqués de Guirior; and that his Majesty should see fit to retire Areche with whatever salary should be deemed advisable; that the council regretted not being able to exonerate and praise Areche as the others had done, but that they felt that no excuse should be given for negligence and carelessness in carrying out one's duties, still less in reports which could cause the harm of the third person.

This advice was submitted to the king, and on May 24, 1789, he expressed his approval of what the council had proposed; asked that the case be considered closed; and stipulated that Areche should be retired with one third of the salary which he had received as a minister, a pension which was to be enjoyed away from the court.⁶²

Areche left the city of Madrid a few hours after receiving his sentence and went to Fuencarral. From there, on May 27, 1789, and September 14, 1789, he sent petitions to the king, pleading for a new trial. This was refused him. He was informed that the case had been closed, and that it was the desire of the king that he should leave Fuencarral and withdraw to a distance of twenty leagues from the court.⁶³

So Areche went to Bilbao, and on May 13, 1791,⁶⁴ on July

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² A. G. I., Resolución de 24 de Mayo de 1789. "Como parece dando por concluida esta causa y entendiendose la jubilacion de Areche con la tercera parte del sueldo de la Plaza de Consejero, el qual ha de disfrutar fura de la corte."

⁶³ A. G. I., Nota a 9 de Octubre de 1789. "Que se retire a la distancia de veinte leguas de la Corte y sitios Reales." Fuencarral, a small town situated about nine kilometers from Madrid.

⁶⁴ A. G. I., Memorial de don Joseph Antonio de Areche. Bilbao, 13 de Mayo de 1791.

28, 1792,⁶⁵ and on July 13, 1793,⁶⁶ he wrote letters to the representatives of the king, summarizing his service in America and in Spain, and asking that he be recalled from exile, restored to royal favor, and allowed to spend the rest of his days in the royal service.

By royal order of September 7, 1793, the council was ordered to pass on this last letter of Areche, and on May 25, 1794, they met and advised the king to recall Areche from exile and to increase his pension to one half the salary which he had enjoyed as a minister of the council.⁶⁷

Two ministers of this council, Don Jorge Escovedo, who had succeeded Areche as visitor of Peru, and the count of Pozos-dulces, were of the opinion that Areche should not only be recalled from exile, but that he should be restored to royal favor and a position be given him corresponding to his former services and honor.

The council, however, in spite of the opinion of these two ministers, insisted upon their former advice. Whether this advice was ever submitted to the king or not, is not stated by these documents. The following notes conclude the data which I have upon Don José Antonio Areche:

Aranjuez, May 30, 1794.

Having handed to his Excellency this *consulta* about Areche, I was ordered to keep it for a better occasion.⁶⁸ (*Hay una rúbrica.*)

October 2, 1795.

I have again presented this *consulta* to his Excellency today, October 2, to see if he thought advisable to present it to his Majesty, and he has informed me to hold it back, since the time is not opportune.⁶⁹ (*Hay una rúbrica.*)

Senor Porcel:

⁶⁵ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche a don Pedro de Acuña. Bilbao, 28 de Julio de 1792.

⁶⁶ A. G. I., Carta de don Joseph Antonio de Areche al Ministro de Gracia y Justicia. Bilbao, 13 de Julio de 1793.

⁶⁷ A. G. I., El Consejo de Yndias en pleno de tres Salas a 25 de Mayo de 1794.

⁶⁸ A. G. I., "En papel en forma de comunicacion."

⁶⁹ A. G. I., "En papel en forma de comunicacion."

His Excellency, who is not ignorant of the lay of the land [*que no ignora el semblante de las cosas*], told me the first time that I informed him concerning the *consulta* that, even though the council in part favored Areche, it would be better to leave it thus, for to do otherwise would be to run the risk of making his condition worse.

Today he has informed me that there are other ministers of the council of Castile who, for lighter reasons and with less solemnity, have been retired, some without pensions, and yet nothing has been secured in their favor, though one would have expected such.

Have the *consulta* placed in the Archives, “y Dios obre.”

Cerda. (*Rubricado.*) October 2, 1795.⁷⁰

The fact that no more is given concerning the case seems to imply that the *consulta* was placed in the archives and remained there without further action.

In the light of the preceding study a side of Areche rather different from the conventional one appears, and in justice to him we must admit that even though he made mistakes and was undoubtedly not a paragon, at any rate he was no worse than the majority of his contemporaries, and quite likely was much better, for all that could be clearly proved against him was his effort to obey strictly the orders of the king. In an age and a circle in which corruption was so prevalent as that in which he lived, it is hardly fair to single Areche out as the sole cause of all revolutions, recalls, etc., and we may conclude that there is much truth in his defenses of himself. At any rate, this is a side of the case that should not be overlooked.

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⁷⁰ A. G. I., “En papel en forma de minuta.”

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NICARAGUA, 1898-1916

Since the Spanish-American War of 1898, the most serious problems in the relations between the United States and Hispanic America have centered around the Caribbean Sea. Occupying a neighboring position, commanding an entrance to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with border republics offering a field for exploitation by foreign capital, this sea is of vital interest to the United States for commercial development and military defense. It is the Caribbean region with its weak and debilitated republics that has kept alive the fear of non-American aggression and has caused the expansion of the Monroe Doctrine, or, according to former Secretary of State Hughes, the creation of a separate "Caribbean Policy". This policy, he defines as the Monroe Doctrine plus the aims of the United States to control all canals and canal routes between the Atlantic and Pacific and the military approaches to them; to protect legitimate American investments; and to encourage and maintain peace and political and financial stability throughout the region. In pursuance of this policy the United States has extended its influence over this area by means of mediation, intervention, commercial expansion, or the establishment of financial protectorates over weak republics. The Panama Canal has been built, trade has increased, and the danger of non-American intervention has diminished with the more stable conditions established under American supervision. Nevertheless, the Hispanic Americans have feared and resented the aggressive advance of their powerful neighbor and their hostility to the United States is a serious menace to Pan-Americanism. Furthermore, it is possible that in the near future the Hispanic-American republics may turn to the League of Nations for protection against the United

States. To alleviate anti-Americanism, the United States must prove that its interventions are actuated by unselfish motives and are for the good of the weaker states; that the will of the majorities will be sustained; and that the northern neighbor will withdraw its protection as soon as stability is established.¹ Is that its policy in Nicaragua?

Nicaragua clearly exemplifies the Caribbean problem. The largest of the Central American states, possessing an excellent canal route and bordered by islands which may serve as naval bases, the republic is of prime interest to the United States for military defense, protection of the Panama Canal, and commercial expansion. American interests would be seriously menaced should a non-American power secure canal concessions in Nicaragua and another canal will soon be needed to take care of the increasing trade. Natural resources have induced foreign nations to invest capital in the little republic but the favorable location of the United States has enabled the latter to gain supremacy over other nations in the Nicaraguan trade. The total foreign trade of Nicaragua has shown a rapid increase since 1900, being, in round numbers, for 1900, \$5,425,500; for 1912, \$8,828,300; for 1916, \$10,062,400; for 1920 (abnormal conditions following the war), \$24,651,700; for 1921, \$13,380,800; and for 1925, \$22,735,900. Of the last amount, the trade with the United States approximated \$15,242,930; with France, \$1,960,100; with the United Kingdom, \$1,747,200; and with Germany, \$1,088,900.² Foreign investments in mining, timber, banana, and coffee industries have likewise been augmented during this period. Recent estimates have valued American interests in Nicaragua from five to thirty million dollars, most of which are held in New Orleans. The United Fruit Company, Atlantic Fruit Company, Cuyamel Fruit Company, La Luz y Los Angeles Mining

¹ G. H. Blakeslee, *The Recent Foreign Policy of the United States* (New York, 1925), pp. 98-112, 177.

² *Report of Collector-General of Customs, Nicaragua, 1911-1913* (Washington, 1913), p. 68; U. S. *Foreign Trade Series*, 1926, No. 15, *Nicaragua*, pp. 1, 7.

Company, Bragman's Bluff Lumber Company and the Astoria Importing and Exporting Company may be mentioned as the leading American corporations there.³

Economic interests, however, have been constantly endangered by political and financial instability. Nicaragua is divided into two distinct districts; the west, with a Spanish population, and the east, settled by Mosquito Indians, widely separated by the Cordilleras and without favorable means of communication. Consequently, a republican form of government in the hands of unscrupulous descendants of the Spanish "conquistadores" has resulted in personal feuds, party rivalry, and sectional jealousy, thus perpetuating civil strife. While party issues are meaningless to the illiterate mass of people, sectional jealousy determines to a great extent party alignment. Granada is supported by conservatives and her rival city, León, is the stronghold of the liberal faction. Ambitious leaders have been ever ready to overthrow the government and the most prominent presidents of the neighboring states, seeking a Central American federation under their power, have aided rebellion against rival authorities.⁴

President José Santos Zelaya placed the liberal party in power in Nicaragua in 1893, and, although progressive, contributing many civic improvements to Nicaragua, he proved to be a tyrant, employing illegal methods of torture for punishing his enemies and securing revenues in every possible way. Forced loans were exacted from the well-to-do, extensive trade monopolies were established, and numerous concessions were granted to foreigners or favored corporations in order to reimburse the president's funds. Tariffs were also increased from time to time, and unfavorable discriminations were directed against the department of Zelaya, center of

³ S. W. Morgan, "Testimony at Foreign Relations Committee Inquiry", in *New York Times*, March 9, 1927; R. W. Dunn, *American Foreign Investments* (New York, 1926), pp. 112-114.

⁴ D. G. Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America* (New York, 1918), pp. 1-8, 185-203.

American trade, located on the Caribbean coast between the Rama River and Lake Tuapi. This district had been an independent kingdom under British protection until 1894, when Zelaya, assisted by American influence, forced the British out of the territory, which was thereupon incorporated in the Nicaraguan Republic. Since the half-breed population resented the loss of independence, and the commercial interests of the United States in this district were rapidly increasing, the province became the center of political agitation against Zelaya's hostile practices. Its distance from the capital, Managua, has made it a desirable center for revolutionary activity.⁵

In 1899 (February 4-27), an insurrection led by General Juan Pablo Reyes, commandante of the department of Zelaya, was waged against the Nicaraguan government and received aid from American residents of Bluefields and "Rough Riders" from Cuba. These Americans joined the insurgent forces or rendered financial assistance to the revolution despite the declaration of neutrality by the United States government. The rebellion was subdued with the surrender of General Reyes, February 27, 1899, but the reconstruction period provoked a serious diplomatic struggle between the governments of the United States and Nicaragua over the re-collection of the customs duties paid by American merchants to the insurrectionary powers on the east coast. Zelaya and his government gave up their claims to the disputed customs collections but attributed the Reyes rebellion to American influence, actuated by a policy of expansion which had been manifested in the Spanish-American War.⁶

Fearful of this growing power from the north, President Zelaya zealously watched the rapid increase in American com-

⁵ U. S. *Consular Report*, 1898, LVI. 209-210, 382-383; LVII. 535-537; U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1899, p. 555; F. Palmer, *Central America* (New York, 1910), pp. 177-185.

⁶ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1899, pp. 549-556; *International Year Book*, 1899, p. 588.

mercial interests in Nicaragua, became more and more despotic, and increased the hostile trade regulations against the east coast. An intermittent diplomatic conflict between Nicaragua and the United States ensued.⁷ Zelaya further resented the interference by the United States and Mexico when the ambitious President, Estrada Cabrera, of Guatemala, waged war against Salvador and Honduras in 1906 and declined to participate in the Central American Peace Conference held in San José, Costa Rica, September, 1906. The following year, Zelaya placed his adherent, Miguel Dávila as provisional president of Honduras and, attempting an attack upon Salvador, incited revolutionary action in four Central American states. President Roosevelt, coöperating with President Díaz of Mexico, then invited each of the Central American republics to send delegates to a peace conference at Washington. All five republics accepted the invitation and in the conference agreed, among other things, to the following: a general treaty of peace and amity; the neutralization of Honduras; and the establishment of a Central American Court of Justice, at Cartago, Costa Rica, which was to have "obligatory jurisdiction over all cases arising between two or more of the states" and final decision in the suits placed before it.⁸ President Zelaya, however, did not plan to carry out these agreements and continued his disturbances in Central America, causing Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica to fear a Central American federation under the Nicaraguan tyrant. Consequently, Central Americans joined the North Americans

⁷ For a study of Zelaya's concessions and tariffs, see *Bulletins of the Bureau of American Republics*, 1899-1908; *Pan American Union Bulletins*, 1908-1909; *United States Consular Reports*, 1899-1909; *United States Foreign Relations*, volumes, 1899-1909; F. Palmer, "Zelaya and Nicaragua" (*Outlook*, V. 13, Op. 855-859).

⁸ G. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States* (New York, 1922), pp. 264-267; Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 206-207. For texts of the treaties, see U. S. *Foreign Relations 1907*, Part II., pp. 692-711; W. P. Buchanan, *Report, The Central American Peace Conference held at Washington, D. C., 1907* (Washington, 1908), pp. 31-80; *Convenciones internacionales de Nicaragua* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1913), pp. 135-181.

in encouraging revolutionary forces on the eastern coast to resist the obnoxious policies of President Zelaya.⁹ Mr. T. C. Moffat, United States consul at Bluefields, notified the government at Washington of the revolutionary plans three days before the rebellion.¹⁰

On October 10, 1909, a band of conservatives proclaimed Juan J. Estrada, liberal governor of the department of Zelaya, provisional president of the Republic of Nicaragua and organized a *de facto* government on the east coast before the constituted authorities could attack them. The United States assumed neutrality for a while and refused to recognize the provisional government, but intervened after the execution of two American citizens, Leonard Grocé and Lee Roy Cannon, engineer officers in the revolutionary forces who had been captured in battle by the Nicaraguan government army. In answer to the claims for rights conceded prisoners of war, made by the United States in behalf of the two Americans, Zelaya maintained that the case was not one of international war but of a civil struggle in which the defeated were subject to trial. The American rebels, he asserted, had been given a fair trial, had been sentenced to death in conformity with Nicaraguan military laws, and their participation in the rebellion had forfeited the right of protection from their home government. This explanation was rejected by Secretary of State Knox, who denied the validity of Zelaya's manifestations and took the opportunity to sever diplomatic relations with the Nicaraguan ruler.¹¹ The interest of the world was aroused by the emphatic note Secretary Knox

⁹ J. S. Zelaya, *The Revolution of Nicaragua and the United States* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 7, 27, 54; E. Emerson, "The Unrest in Central America" (in *Independent*, LXVII, 1909, pp. 1280-1292).

¹⁰ U. S. *Congressional Record*, January 13, 1927, p. 1578.

¹¹ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1909, pp. 446, 451-455; Zelaya, *The Revolution of Nicaragua and the United States*, pp. 79, 125-127. For farewell letters from Cannon and Grocé to their families, see Zelaya, *The Revolution of Nicaragua and the United States*, pp. 168-175. The Americans claimed that the Nicaraguan officials forced the prisoners to write these.

addressed to the Nicaraguan Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, December 1, 1909, for it boldly stated that President Zelaya had kept Central America in almost continual turmoil and had destroyed republican institutions in Nicaragua; that it would be difficult for the United States to delay active response to appeals made to it against this situation by Central American republics; and that the present indications of anarchy promised

no source to which the government of the United States could look for reparations for the killing of Messrs. Cannon and Grocé, or, indeed, for the protection which must be assured American citizens and American interests in Nicaragua.

The United States continued to hold both warring factions, *de facto* powers in control of the western and eastern provinces, accountable for the protection of American life and property but American marines were sent to Nicaragua ports.¹²

Realizing that he would be unable to maintain his support against the opposition of the United States, President Zelaya was persuaded by the liberals and President Díaz of Mexico to abdicate, December 16, 1909.¹³ However, his successor, Don José Madriz, elected by the liberal congress, was considered only a henchman of Zelaya by President Taft, and the interference of the United States officials, who refused to permit an armed conflict in Bluefields, on the east coast, made the defeat of the liberal party inevitable. On August 20, 1910, Madriz deposited the presidency of Nicaragua in the conservative party¹⁴ and until January 1, 1925, this party, though

¹² U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1909, pp. 455-456; Juan Leets, *The United States and Latin America* (New Orleans, Louisiana, 1912), pp. 59-62.

¹³ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1909, pp. 456-458; Zelaya, *The Revolution of Nicaragua and the United States*, pp. 109-114.

¹⁴ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1910, pp. 745-754, 758-761; Leets, *The United States and Latin America*, pp. 23-30, 62-64; Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 229-231; Zelaya, *The Revolution of Nicaragua and the United States*, pp. 93-106.

in the minority, has been maintained in power only by the aid of the United States.

The new president, Juan J. Estrada, at once called upon the United States for assistance. Mr. Thomas C. Dawson was designated special agent to Nicaragua and secured the approval of a plan of reconstruction for the republic that provided: a constitutional assembly to adopt a democratic constitution and to elect Estrada and Adolfo Díaz for the presidency and vice-presidency for two years; reparations for the deaths of Cannon and Grocé; a financial rehabilitation aided by a loan to be secured from the United States; a claims commission; and the election, at an opportune time, of a constitutional president and vice-president, representatives of the conservative party, as successors to Estrada and Díaz.¹⁵ Accordingly, Estrada and Díaz were chosen for a term of two years, beginning January 1, 1911, and their administration was officially recognized by the United States. Disturbances between ambitious members of the president's cabinet followed. President Estrada became involved in a dispute with the minister of war, Mena, and resigned May 9, 1911, when Adolfo Díaz became president with the real headship of the government assumed by General Mena.¹⁶ Completely under Mena's control, the Nicaraguan assembly, in October, 1911, elected the war minister president of Nicaragua to succeed Díaz, January 1, 1913, in contravention to the Dawson agreement providing for a free election by the people.¹⁷ This action provoked serious opposition from the aspiring conservative leaders, President Díaz and General Emiliano Chamorro, and the assembly's efforts to effect the financial reorganization of the republic increased the unrest due to the hostility toward American intervention.¹⁸ Economic distress also encouraged revolutionary activity.

¹⁵ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1910, p. 765; 1911, pp. 649-653; Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 233-234.

¹⁶ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1911, pp. 650-661.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 666-668.

¹⁸ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1912, pp. 1013-1024.

On July 29, 1912, President Díaz demanded the resignation of General Mena as minister of war. General Mena fled to Masaya, converted it into a revolutionary center, and placed his brother, Colonel Daniel Mena in charge of Granada. Allying with the liberals under Zeledón, Mena declared a rebellion against the Nicaraguan government.¹⁹ Again, the liberals were defeated because of the protective policy of the United States, whose minister, Weitzel, declared:

The policy of the government of the United States in the present Nicaraguan disturbances is to take the necessary measures for an adequate legation guard at Managua, to keep open communications, and to protect American life and property.

In discountenancing Zelaya, whose régime of barbarity and corruption was ended by the Nicaraguan nation after a bloody war, the government of the United States opposed not only the individual but the system, and this government could not countenance any movement to restore the same destructive régime.²⁰

American soldiers kept open the railway from Corinto to Granada, and, participating in the struggle obtained the surrender of the liberals on October 5.²¹ Likewise, the American marines were retained for the presidential elections which were held, November 2, 1912. Through the influence of the American minister, Weitzel, the Chamorro faction of the conservative party agreed to accept Díaz as their candidate and he was elected president of Nicaragua for the term, 1913-1917. He and his party were maintained in power by the retention of one hundred American marines in Managua.²² Díaz had been

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1027-1031, 1034; Rosendo Argüello, *Public Appeal of Nicaragua to the Congress and People of the United States* (Washington, 1912), pp. 106-107, 115.

²⁰ *U. S. Foreign Relations, 1912*, p. 1043; Argüello, *Public Appeal of Nicaragua to the Congress and People of the United States*, pp. 79-81.

²¹ *U. S. Foreign Relations, 1912*, pp. 1052-1057; *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1912*, p. 13; *ibid.*, 1913, p. 38; Argüello, *Public Appeal of Nicaragua to the Congress and People of the United States*, pp. 125-138.

²² *U. S. Foreign Relations, 1912*, pp. 1058, 1061-1064; Argüello, *Public Appeal of Nicaragua to the Congress and People of the United States*, pp. 138-144.

a clerk of the American corporation, La Luz y Los Angeles Mining Company at Bluefields. He had received a salary of \$1000 a year and had advanced the Revolution of 1909 the sum of \$600,000 which he later repaid himself.²³

In the presidential election of 1916, the liberals hoped to be restored to power but lost any opportunity of support from the United States government when they chose as their candidate Dr. Julián Iriás, who was an able leader but had been a trusted minister of Zelaya. The liberals were warned that the United States would recognize no associate of the Zelayan régime, and the conservative general, Emiliano Chamorro, was elected for the term 1917-1921.²⁴

Thus, it seems that the United States not only repudiated the tyrant, Zelaya, but also the liberal party who were in the majority²⁵ and manifested increasing hostility to American financial supervision in Nicaragua. President Estrada had accepted the aid of the United States because he feared the threatened revolutions of Zelayistas, and had dissolved the Nicaraguan assembly when it had attempted a new constitution with a clause directed against "humiliating loans".²⁶ It was only through General Mena's control of the new congress that the Dawson plans were approved.²⁷ Proclaiming the theory of "Dollar Diplomacy", defined by Taft as an effort to increase American trade by the government's protection of enterprise abroad,²⁸ President Taft and Secretary Knox asserted that the removal of economic distress by financial reorganization would prevent war, "substituting dollars for rifle bullets", and urged the immediate establishment of financial reform.

²³ U. S. *Congressional Record*, January 13, 1927, p. 1573; S. Nearing and J. Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy* (New York, 1925), p. 155.

²⁴ Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 249-252.

²⁵ See note 42.

²⁶ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1911, pp. 656-658; U. S. *Congressional Record*, January 13, 1927, p. 1579.

²⁷ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1911, pp. 666-668.

²⁸ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1912, p. x.; W. H. Taft "Message to the Senate and the House of Representatives, December 3, 1912".

The reform program was begun early in 1911 when Mr. Ernest H. Wands, American financial agent, was sent to Nicaragua. He found the treasury practically empty and the currency greatly disorganized, while foreigners were "urgently demanding the payment of interest on the bonded debt" and "claimants were seeking compensation for concessions which the revolutionists had cancelled or violated".²⁹ To meet these difficulties, the Knox-Castrillo loan convention, providing a loan to be obtained by Nicaragua from American bankers, was signed but met opposition in the United States senate. It was a critical situation when Brown Brothers and Company and J. and W. Seligman and Company, New York, agreed to lend the Nicaraguan Republic fifteen million dollars when the Knox-Castrillo treaty should become effective and, for immediate relief, to "purchase of the [Nicaraguan] Republic six per cent treasury bills to the amount of \$1,500,000" to be "guaranteed by the customs revenues" which were to be "administered until the notes were retired by a collector general designated by the bankers—any dispute relating to this contract should be referred to the Secretary of State of the United States for final decision".³⁰

In accordance with the Treasury Bills Agreement, Messrs. F. C. Harrison and C. A. Conant installed currency reform in Nicaragua. This necessitated a supplementary loan which was granted, with the approval of the United States government, by the New York bankers, March 26, 1912, who fixed the maximum sum at \$775,000 and received an option of fifty-one per cent of the stock in the national railway with the management of the entire road until Nicaragua should pay all money due them.³¹ Messrs. Harrison and Conant then made arrangements for a national bank of Nicaragua, incorporated under the laws of the state of Connecticut and controlled and man-

²⁹ Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, p. 235.

³⁰ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1912, pp. 1078-1079; Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, p. 236.

³¹ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1912, pp. 1093-1100.

aged by the American bankers. Its entire stock was also pledged to the New York firms as security for their loans. On August 1, 1912, the bank was opened for business in Managua and in 1913, placed in circulation a new currency, the unit of which is the "Cordoba", equal in value with the American dollar.³²

Mr. C. D. Ham took charge of the customs collections in the Nicaraguan Republic in December, 1911. Refusing to permit a reduction of the tariff without the bankers' consent, Mr. Ham secured a large increase in the revenues which enabled the readjustment of the foreign debt. The bankers negotiated contracts with the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders of London, known as the Ethelburga Syndicate Company, who agreed to reduce the interest on the 1909 government bonds from six per cent to five per cent with the provision that the interest and amortization charges be made a first lien on the customs receipts of the republic. Hence, the collector general of customs was made trustee of the bonds of 1909. The bondholders also permitted Nicaragua to use a cash sum which had been held in London by original purchasers of the bonds, and granted a reduction in the redemption price of the bonds in addition to the release of some securities pledged to the bondholders.³³

In 1911, the assembly also agreed to the establishment of a Mixed Claims Commission, composed of three members, one Nicaraguan and two Americans, whose duty was to examine and adjudge the unliquidated claims originating from the abolition of monopolies made by the governments of Zelaya and Madriz. Judge Otto Schoenrich, as president, opened its sessions, March 26, 1912, and its work continued for three years. European creditors at first refused to submit their

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 1098, 1102-1104; Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 236-238.

³³ *Report of the Collector-General of Customs, Nicaragua, 1924* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1925), p. 16; U. S. *Foreign Relations, 1912*, pp. 1081, 1101, 1102; U. S. *Congressional Record*, LI., Part II p. 10708.

claims to the commission, but were later persuaded to do so. While a large number of the claims against the Nicaraguan government, entered by natives and foreigners, were passed, not all of the awards could be paid because of the lack of funds. Most of the payments were granted to the natives who had presented small claims for the loss of property during the war.³⁴

Such an extensive program was indeed promising but met with serious difficulties due to the hostility to American supervision and to the lack of funds. The failure of the United States senate to ratify the Knox-Castrillo convention and the obligations incurred by increased debts and the high salaries of the new American officials almost produced a panic. While efforts were being made to obtain a canal treaty, the New York bankers, with the advice and support of the United States department of state, made further advances, but exacted such heavy terms that Nicaragua threatened to seek European aid. Another loan from Brown Brothers and Company and J. and W. Seligman and Company was secured October 8, 1913. Two million dollars were advanced by the bankers who purchased new treasury bills to the amount of \$1,000,000 and received fifty-one per cent of both the national railway and national bank stock with the agreement of the Republic to employ a part of the \$2,000,000 in the payment of its obligations to the national bank and the New York bankers. The capital of the national bank was to be raised from \$100,000 to \$300,000.³⁵

The following summer, the outbreak of the World War brought the little republic again to the doors of bankruptcy.

³⁴ *Decreto, Comision Mixta de Reclamaciones de Nicaragua* (Managua, Nicaragua, 1913); U. S. *Treaty Series*, No. 556 ½; Stuart, *Latin America and the United States*, p. 271; O. Schoenrich, "The Nicaraguan Mixed Claims Commission" (*American Journal of International Law*, IX., 1915), pp. 858-869.

³⁵ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1913, pp. 1061-1063; Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 246-247; Of the nine members of the boards of directors for the national bank and railway, six were named by the bankers and one by the U. S. secretary of state.

The decrease in customs revenues necessitated the suspension of payments on the English debt and interest on the treasury bills and new issues of paper money forced a temporary abandonment of the gold standard in 1915. The national budget was reduced to half its former amount. In the financial crisis the hope of the Nicaraguan government centered in the canal treaty that was being negotiated between the United States and Nicaragua.³⁶

With the defeat of the Knox-Castrillo convention, the Nicaraguan government proposed, December 15, 1912, that an inter-oceanic canal treaty be drawn up with the United States. The Weitzel-Chamorro treaty was signed, February 8, 1913, and modified by Secretary Bryan at the request of President Díaz, with the inclusion of an amendment similar to the Platt amendment for Cuba, but failed of ratification in the United States senate. Despite vehement protests from Central America, a new treaty, the Bryan-Chamorro treaty, was signed August 5, 1914, and finally won ratification February 18, 1916. Its principal provisions were: the grant to the United States government of exclusive proprietary rights necessary for the construction of an inter-oceanic canal through Nicaraguan territory; the lease to the United States for ninety-nine years of the Great and Little Corn Islands, and the right to establish a naval base on Nicaraguan territory bordering upon the Gulf of Fonseca during that time; the payment by the United States of the sum of \$3,000,000 to be applied upon the Nicaraguan Republic's indebtedness in a manner to be determined by the two high contracting parties; and the added amendment that nothing in the convention was intended to affect any existing right of Costa Rica, Salvador,

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 249; U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1914, p. 947; Dr. Pedro Rafael Cuadra, "Memorandum on the Conditions in Nicaragua", submitted to the Pan American Financial Conference, 1915, (*Proceedings of the First Pan-American Financial Conference, Washington, May 24-29, 1915*, p. 586).

or Honduras. The amending clause had been added to allay the complaints of the Central American republics.³⁷

Vigorous opposition to the canal treaty was manifested throughout Central America. Liberals in Nicaragua threatened uprisings against all of the American loans but were unable to battle with the marines at Managua. Neighboring republics protested. Colombia claimed the ownership of the Mosquito Coast and the Corn Islands by the law of *Uti Possidetis*. Salvador invited Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras to meet in conference for the purpose of protesting against the prospective canal treaty. With the expression of disapproval by the United States, the invitation was declined but Salvador presented its complaints to Nicaragua and Secretary of State Bryan. Its claims were directed against the establishment of a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca, which would endanger Salvador's integrity and preservation and would violate its rights of condominium in the gulf, whose sovereignty had been deposited in the Central American Federation, at the time of its liberation from Spain, and had not been delimited since by any agreement between the three riparian states, Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. Since the entrance of the gulf is less than ten miles in width, international law would give the sovereignty over the waters to all the bordering states. Further, Salvador asserted that the treaty would menace the formation of a Central American Union, was contrary to the Washington treaties, 1907, and the neutrality of Honduras, and could not be legally consummated in accordance with the constitution of Nicaragua.³⁸

³⁷ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1913, pp. 1020-1022; 1914, pp. 953-954, 956, 959-962; 966-967, 969; 1915, pp. 1113, 1118-1119; 1916, pp. 810-820, 832-835, 849-852; U. S. *Treaty Series*, No. 624, *Convention between the United States and Nicaragua*; Munro, *The Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 252-253.

³⁸ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1913, pp. 1024-1031; 1914, pp. 960-963; 1916, pp. 815-817, 852-861. By Art. 2 of the *General Treaty of Peace and Friendship*, the Central American states promise not to alter in any form their constitutions. The constitution of Nicaragua prohibits the negotiation of treaties that in any way impair the territorial integrity or the national sovereignty of Nicaragua; Munro, *Five Republics of Central America*, pp. 255-257.

Likewise, Costa Rica had made constant protests against the negotiations of the canal convention. Its claims were based upon rights granted by the Cañas-Jerez treaty of limits, 1858, between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, which had been held valid by President Cleveland in an arbitral award of 1888. President Cleveland had declared that the treaty provided for free navigation in the lower part of the San Juan River and that Nicaragua should not conclude any new contract for a canal without first asking the opinion of Costa Rica and in cases where the canal construction would injure the "natural rights of Costa Rica, it would seem that her consent is necessary". Costa Rica also maintained that the Isthmian Canal Commission of 1901 had upheld its claims, that the United States had recognized them by entering into a protocol for canal provisions with Costa Rica in 1900, and that the Washington treaties of 1907 had granted free navigation of Central American waters to all of the republics. In answer to these protests, Nicaragua stated that the canal convention granted only an option to the canal route, and the United States insisted that it could not affect Costa Rica's treaty rights, while the separate protocols for a treaty with Nicaragua and Costa Rica, 1900, indicated that the United States might deal with the republics individually.³⁹ Costa Rica definitely declared that it was not opposed to a canal treaty with the United States, but that it had been offended by the fact that it had not been considered in the secret negotiations. Both Salvador and Costa Rica intimated a willingness to enter into separate treaties with the United States, but, though the American ministers were instructed to negotiate with the republics, nothing was accomplished.⁴⁰

The struggle over the canal treaty in the United States senate postponed the ratification two years. Here, Costa

³⁹ *The Republic of Costa Rica against the Republic of Nicaragua, Complaint* (Washington, 1916), pp. 57-61, 102-111, 25-30; U. S. *Foreign Relations, 1914*, pp. 964-969; 1916, pp. 818-822. Munro, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

⁴⁰ U. S. *Foreign Relations, 1914*, p. 966; 1915, pp. 1106-1110, 1116-1118.

Rica's claims against Nicaragua were expounded, accusation of unfair and fraudulent dealings were made against the New York bankers, while Senator Borah, leading the attack against the treaty, took the stand that the United States was not dealing with Nicaragua but with mere "puppets" that had been placed in power and was forcing upon the large majority of Nicaraguans a treaty they strenuously opposed. He urged that the treaty be considered publicly by the Senate and threatened to reveal facts he had secured on his own initiative, but his efforts failed.⁴¹ In a letter dated January 7, 1915, Senator Elihu Root stated:

"the present government is not in power by the will of the people; the elections of the House of Congress were mostly fraudulent". . . . the Liberals; that is to say, the opposition, "constitute three-fourths of the country". It is apparent from this report and from other information . . . that the present government with which we are making this treaty is really maintained in office by the presence of United States marines in Nicaragua. . . . Can we afford to make a treaty so serious for Nicaragua . . . with a president who we have reason to believe does not represent more than a quarter of the people of the country. . . . We don't want to maintain a government in Nicaragua by military force perpetually; and it is highly probable that if we were to withdraw our force after making such a treaty there would be a revolution and the treaty would be repudiated.⁴²

However, former American Minister to Nicaragua, George T. Weitzel, justified the administration's policy by the necessity of ending the constant disorder in Central America in order to remove the danger of European interference in the debilitated republic. He reported that England and Japan were interested in canal concessions in Nicaragua in 1908, and in 1912, Germany was attempting to get from Nicaragua a concession to canalize the San Juan River for the exploitation of certain banana plantations in Costa Rica. Furthermore,

⁴¹ U. S. *Congressional Record*, LI. 11614-11618, 11285, 10514.

⁴² U. S. *Congressional Record*, January 13, 1927, p. 1574.

American life and property must be protected. The canal treaty was ratified, but futile attempts were made in both houses to prevent appropriations for the treaty.⁴³

Costa Rica and Salvador then placed their cases before the Central American court of arbitration. Despite Nicaragua's claim that the court had no jurisdiction over cases in which a republic's sovereignty and integrity were involved, the cases were considered by the tribunal and the decision on Costa Rica's claims was handed down, September 30, 1916. In substance, it declared: first, the tribunal was competent to decide the suit brought by Costa Rica against the Republic of Nicaragua; second, the government of Nicaragua had violated the rights granted Costa Rica by the Cañas-Jerez Treaty, 1858, the Cleveland Award, March 22, 1888, and the Central American Treaty of Peace and Friendship, December 20, 1907; and third, the court could not declare the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty void because the United States was not subject to the jurisdiction of the tribunal. Nicaragua refused to answer the complaint filed against it in the Central American court but its representative on the tribunal, Magistrate Gutierrez Navas, gave the one dissenting vote in the decision, with a separate statement of his reasons, and Nicaragua explained its refusal to abide by the court's action. Likewise, the United States declared that the Central American court had been established after Costa Rica and Nicaragua had made separate agreements to negotiate with the United States for a canal in 1900, and that the Washington conventions were not intended to affect the international relations between the United States and any of the Central American governments, especially diplomatic relations.

The decision in the case of Salvador was handed down by the court, March 2, 1917. This case was more difficult because it involved international law and Salvador's claim to the

⁴³ G. T. Weitzel, *American Policy in Nicaragua*; U. S. Senate Document 334, 64th Congress, 1st sess., pp. 9, 16; U. S. Congressional Record, 1916, LIII, 13515, 13660-13661.

condominium of the gulf of Fonseca, which Honduras denied in a protest to Salvador, was made weaker by the fact that the three bordering republics had divided the islands of the gulf between them and had held jurisdiction over separate portions of the coast. Salvador, however, had not been a party to any treaty abolishing the joint ownership of the gulf by Nicaragua, Honduras, and Salvador. The Central American court decided: the tribunal was competent to take action in the case of the government of El Salvador against that of Nicaragua; by the concession to the United States of a naval base in the gulf of Fonseca, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty menaced the national security of El Salvador and violated its rights of ownership in the gulf; the treaty opposed the Washington agreements of peace and amity; and the court could not declare the canal convention null and void nor enjoin Nicaragua to abstain from fulfilling its provisions as petitioned by Salvador.

The decisions rendered, the Central American court of arbitration demanded of the Nicaraguan Republic the reestablishment of the status quo as it had existed prior to the treaty.⁴⁴ Nicaragua and the United States failed to recognize the decision of the court, and, with the refusal of Nicaragua to renew its convention, the tribunal was disbanded at the end of its first term, March 17, 1918. It was unfortunate that the court should have failed because of the refusal of its creator, the United States, to abide by a decision unfavorable to its own interests.⁴⁵

The financial arrangements as provided by the Bryan-

⁴⁴ *Anales de la Corte Centro Americano* (San José, Costa Rica, 1916, 1917), V 159, 176, VI. 14-15, 169-170, V. 122-250 and VI. 1-193 give full accounts of the two cases; U. S. *Foreign Relations* 1916, pp. 886, 890-892. For full account, see pp. 826-898; M. Ellis, *Some Problems in the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Five Republics of Central America* (M. A. Thesis, U. of T. 1926, pp. 92-93).

⁴⁵ U. S. *Foreign Relations*, 1916, p. 837; J. B. Scott, "Closing of the Central American Court of Justice" (in *American Journal of International Law*, XII. 380); Stuart, *Latin America and the United States*, pp. 275-276.

Chamorro Treaty were then put into effect and the protectorate established by the United States government over the Nicaraguan Republic was virtually complete. The North American Republic had exclusive canal privileges in Nicaragua and bordering naval bases, while the New York bankers, under the supervision of the United States department of state had control of the national bank and railway, owning fifty-one per cent of the stock of each, and the management of the customs collections of the Republic. In 1918, the high commission of the Republic of Nicaragua consisting of two Americans, selected by the secretary of state, and one Nicaraguan, was appointed to supervise the expenditures of the Republic.⁴⁶ What has American protection accomplished? Dangers of non-American aggression in Nicaragua have been eliminated and the Panama Canal zone interests, as well as American life and property, have been protected. Financial chaos has been removed and a uniform currency with a gold basis has been installed. Furthermore, the presence of American marines has greatly reduced the number of revolutions, while economic and social progress have redounded to Nicaragua's benefit.

Nevertheless, progress will be retarded as long as the great majority of people, adherents of the liberal party, are hostile to the American made government. Believing that the American advance in the Caribbean area since 1898 has been actuated by economic imperialism, Nicaraguan liberals have resented the financial protectorate established over their republic and have considered as particularly unfair the imposition of a minority party government since 1912. Many Americans have realized that the good will and coöperation of the people are essential, and, subscribing to the idea that strong nations must guarantee the integrity of weak neighbors, whose national spirit cannot be permanently subdued, have hoped for a reversal of the aggressive policy in the

⁴⁶ *Report of the High Commission, Republic of Nicaragua, 1925* (Managua, 1926), pp. 3-4; Nearing and Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy*, p. 169.

Caribbean. Better relations were secured by President Wilson and Secretary of State Hughes, who inaugurated a withdrawal policy in the Caribbean area with the establishment of greater stability. Much was accomplished in Nicaragua.⁴⁷ In 1920, President Wilson stated that the question of candidates for the presidency was to be decided by the Republic of Nicaragua in the free expression of public opinion⁴⁸ and, in 1924, the United States department of state not only declared that its government had no preference regarding candidates for the presidency of Nicaragua but also agreed to recognize any person gaining the office through free and fair elections.⁴⁹ In July, 1924, Nicaragua finished paying its debt to Brown Brothers and J. and W. Seligman, thereby relieving the United States government of its obligation to protect the New York bankers who had granted loans to Nicaragua at the request of the state department. Though American officials were retained to insure stability, the national bank and railway were handed over to the republic.⁵⁰ Finally, after the election of Carlos Solorzano, conservative republican, as president, and Juan Bautista Sacasa, liberal, as vice-president, the American marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua in August, 1925.⁵¹

Unfortunately, the return of the liberals to power in Nicaragua was not welcomed by the conservative faction, and another civil war between the two parties was begun in October, 1925. Conditions there are still unsettled but the possibility of a fair election by the people, in the near future, offers, perhaps,

⁴⁷ Blakeslee, *The Recent Foreign Policy of the United States*, pp. 109-120, 148-150; Munro, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-264.

⁴⁸ Raul de Cardenas, *La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano* (Havana, 1921), p. 260.

⁴⁹ U. S. Department of State, *Press Release*, July 21, 1924.

⁵⁰ *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* (New York), December 18, 1920, p. 2373; September 13, 1924, p. 1236; July 1925, pp. 265-266; Nearing and Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy*, p. 171.

⁵¹ U. S. Department of State, *Press Release*, February 7, 1924, January 17, 1925; Nearing and Freeman, *Dollar Diplomacy*, p. 171.

a solution to the problem. A government established by the free will of the people is not only just but is necessary and its moral support by the United States, with an assurance of no protectorate, would contribute more than anything else to the alleviation of the anti-American sentiment in the neighbor republic. The eradication of anti-Americanism throughout the Caribbean area is essential for Pan-Americanism and the removal of the potential danger of the isolation of the United States by the rapprochement of Hispanic America and Europe. It is only through Pan-Americanism, insuring a friendly coöperation among the American peoples for the solution of their problems and the promotion of their interests, that the greatest progress, politically, socially, and commercially, may be attained by the western hemisphere.

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WAS PATRICK EGAN A "BLUNDERING MINISTER"?

One of the traditions which has grown up regarding the relations of the United States with Chile during the Civil War of 1891 is to the effect that much of the trouble which arose between the two countries during that period was due to the incapacity of the North-American representative at Santiago de Chile. This tradition, which became widespread shortly after the fall of Balmaceda and has continued up to the present time, dates from March, 1889, when Patrick Egan was appointed minister to Chile by Secretary Blaine.¹ Anything which Blaine did was anathema to a large number of Americans and when it became possible to attack Mr. Blaine through his minister to Chile the opposition seized the opportunity and pressed it hard. During the early months of the war and in a measure up to the fall of Balmaceda public opinion in the United States was divided as to the rightfulness of the claims of the revolutionists. The success of the latter gave the anti-Balmaceda opponents of the Harrison administration an opportunity to glory in their perspicuity and very shortly the anti-administration press began to make capital of its superior foresight. A still greater opening was provided by the strained relations between the successful revolutionists and the United States government. The fact that Egan from the beginning had shown a tendency to support Balmaceda was dwelt upon, his career before and after his appointment was gone over with a microscope in an effort to find flaws, and very shortly Mr. Blaine's opponents proved to their own satisfaction that Patrick Egan was largely to blame for the hostility towards the United States manifest in Chile.

The attack was led by the *New York Evening Post* and the

¹ *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1907), V. 399.

New York Times. Opposition weeklies took their cue from the daily press. On September 21, 1891, *Harper's Weekly* published a vitriolic article by Richard Harding Davis in which he rehashed old charges that Egan had absconded with some £120,000 of the Irish Land League of which he had been treasurer and of which a portion reads:

At present he stands suspected at home, and openly accused in Chile, of close affiliation with Balmaceda; of joint interest with him in nitrate beds and railroad contracts; of having deceived the department at Washington as to the true state of affairs in Chili, and so causing the United States to side with Balmaceda who represented despotism and unconstitutional misrule, and to snub the agents of the insurgents, who represented liberty and the rule of and by the people.²

Of all the opponents of Egan the *Nation* was perhaps the most vicious. As early as May 21, 1891, it began its onslaughts and these may be said to have reached their apogee in the following editorial of September 10, 1891:

We ought to have had in Santiago an American of the best type to report to the Administration on all the law and facts of the case, and give opinions on the final outcome which would inform the public judgment here, and, if the opportunity offered, to throw his mediating influence there in favor of law and liberty. What we did have was a wandering foreign adventurer, whose residence in the United States had been very brief, whose reputation was very shady, and who had made himself "solid" with the would-be dictator in the old-fashioned business way so well known in Blaine circles. The result was that the Itata³ was seized and we were brought within a hair's breadth of armed interference in the struggle on the side of arbitrary power. . . . The difficulty of deciding which was right in a domestic quarrel would have been ample excuse for not meddling with her at all. But having Egan and new cruisers, in an atmosphere charged with buncombe, we chased, and fumed, and cursed, and vowed vengeance

² Richard Harding Davis, "Minister Patrick Egan", in *Harper's Weekly* (September 12, 1891), XXXV. 696.

³ For an account of "The Itata Incident", by Osgood Hardy, see THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (May 1922), V. 195-226.

dire, and accumulated, little by little, a huge moral and political and commercial blunder.⁴

With such contemporary testimony as this to draw upon North American historians have been nearly unanimous in their attitude towards Mr. Egan. Albert Bushnell Hart was one of the first anti-Eganites,⁵ he was followed by Davis Rich Dewey⁶ and Willis Fletcher Johnson.⁷ The acme of this criticism of Egan is reached in that widely used text book of Professor Bassett's where on a page with the heading "A Blundering Minister" he states,

The Chilean incident arose through the conduct of an incompetent minister.⁸

In fact, to the knowledge of the author only one historian in the United States has even a dubiously kind word to say for Mr. Egan, and that gentleman achieved his fame in fields other than that of history.⁹

It is not the object of this article to attempt the "white-washing" of Mr. Egan.¹⁰ It is believed, however, that a statement of the facts as they can be discovered today will show that the reported characterization of Mr. Egan by Admiral Brown to the effect that Mr. Egan

⁴ *Nation* (September 10, 1891), LIII. 187.

⁵ Albert Bushnell Hart, "The Chilean Controversy", in *Practical Essays in American Government* (New York, 1893), 108-114.

⁶ Davis Rich Dewey, *National Problems* [American Nation Series XXIV.], (New York, 1907), pp. 214-218.

⁷ Willis Fletcher Johnson, *America's Foreign Relations*, New York, 1916, pp. 194-195.

⁸ John Spencer Bassett, *A Short History of the United States* (New York), 1921, p. 771.

⁹ Harry Thurston Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic* (New York, 1907), p. 230. Mr. Peck says, "Mr. Egan was a man of ability and honor, who had simply made himself disliked . . . in Dublin at a time when the British Government was trying one of its periodical experiments in repression . . . his appointment . . . was properly open to criticism, and in Chile where there were so many influential English residents it was the cause of social embarrassment".

¹⁰ "Defense of Egan is impossible", says James Ford Rhodes (*Hayes to McKinley*, New York, 1919, pp. 374-378).

conducted himself throughout the entire trouble with the dignity demanded by his position.¹¹

was nearer the truth than the censorious criticisms of Egan's slanderers.

What then are the *facts* in the case as far as the writer can discover them? On January 8, 1891, Chile was in a state of civil war due to a revolt against President Balmaceda led by the dominant faction in congress. The navy supported the congressional party and as a result the latter secured control of the nitrate regions of the north and located its capital at Iquique. Although the revolutionists had possession of the sea, they could not overthrow Balmaceda until they could secure arms and ammunition since the army remained loyal to him. These were not secured until August. In that month the congressional party started south, overthrew Balmaceda's army, and by September 18, on which date Balmaceda committed suicide, was in complete charge of the Chilean government.

During the period of the civil war the United States tried to keep true to its old time policy of remaining neutral and recognizing the *de jure* government as long as it continued *de facto*. Three events took place which rightly or wrongly as it may be caused the congressional party to believe that the United States had not remained neutral. These were the "Itata incident", the "Cable affair", and the "Quinteros Bay episode". The first was caused by the attempt of the congressionalists to purchase arms and ammunition in the United States and convey them to Iquique in the transport *Itata*. Detained at San Diego under charges of violating the United States neutrality laws, the steamer made its escape by force. It was surrendered by the congressionalists when they learned that it was being pursued by the American warship *Charleston*, brought back to San Diego, and after a long and tedious trial was declared not guilty by both the district

¹¹ *New York Times*, November 20, 1891.

and circuit courts. The "Cable affair" arose out of the use of American warships to prevent the congressional party at Iquique from interfering with the work of the Central and South American Cable Company, when, after the former had refused to permit it to send messages beyond Iquique, it lifted the cable outside the marine league limit, cut it both north and south of Iquique and spliced it so that messages could be sent directly without passing through the Iquique station. The "Quinteros Bay episode" refers to the visit made by Admiral Brown to Quinteros Bay on the day the congressional forces disembarked there previous to the battle of Placillas. On his return to Valparaíso he sent a cable to Washington describing what he had seen and, according to some of the congressional party, thereby made it possible, through the censorship enforced, for Balmaceda to receive vital information. It does not lie within the province of this article to discuss these incidents further. Suffice it to say that they greatly inflamed the congressionalists and when, after the downfall of Balmaceda a number of the defeated leaders escaped the vengeance of the erstwhile rebels by seeking asylum in the foreign legations at Santiago, the American legation receiving the largest number, their anger could scarcely contain itself.¹²

On October 16, 1891, Captain Schley of the U. S. S. *Baltimore* unwisely allowed over one hundred of his men shore leave at Valparaíso. Some of them found their way to the "Maintop", as the tenderloin of Valparaíso is named, where in the early afternoon, they were set upon by discharged congressional soldiers to whom the United States uniform was as a red flag to a bull. As a result two Americans were killed and a number injured. The United States government promptly demanded satisfaction especially as it

¹² The correspondence between the United States and Chile during the civil war up to January 25, 1892, is printed in *House executive documents*, 52 Cong. 1 sess., No. 91. Reference to this correspondence will be made under the simple title *House documents*.

appeared that the Chilean police, instead of helping suppress the riot, in several instances had also joined in the festivities themselves. In the course of the negotiations the Chilean minister of foreign affairs advised the world at large that President Harrison had made some "deliberately incorrect statements". This was too much. Diplomatic relations were suspended, and on January 25, after a month had passed without any progress towards reparation, the President sent the correspondence to congress with the advice that "the demands made of Chile . . . should be adhered to and enforced". Fortunately, before force became necessary Chile apologized and later turned over to the American minister \$75,000 in reparation for the injuries done the American sailors.

This then is the Chilean incident, the causation of which tradition has come to place at the door of Patrick Egan's incompetency. On the face of it this tradition is absurd. Egan had practically nothing to do with the three incidents mentioned above and all the evidence goes to show that they were the most important factors in causing the ill-feeling which brought on the *Baltimore* incident.¹³ It is worth while, therefore, to discover, if possible, the origin of the tradition that the Chilean incident was due to an incompetent minister. It was conceived in the desire of the enemies of the "Plumed Knight" to find weak spots in his armor and what more natural than for them to make use of Minister Egan. Toward and following the end of the civil war two Chileans of American ancestry, John and Richard Trumbull, began to publish grievous charges against the United States government's neutrality and that of its naval and diplomatic representatives in Chile.¹⁴ With this as a foundation the opposition press

¹³ The fourth most important factor, Egan's granting of asylum, will be treated of shortly. The part played by the three incidents mentioned above is well shown in the instructions sent by Secretary Matta to the Chilean minister at Washington and in which are the derogatory references to President Harrison which precipitated affairs (*House documents*, pp. 178-183).

¹⁴ Ricardo Lindsay Trumbull, "The Chilean Struggle for Liberty", in *Forum* (August, 1891), XI. 645-651; "Should the United States help Chile?" in *Har-*

attacked Egan, and through him Blaine, with a scurrilousness which knew not the limitations of either fact or decency. Apparently they were justified. Both Trumbulls were Yale graduates¹⁵ and writing, the one from Chile and the other as representative of the congressional party in the United States, their assertions carried weight. Their fathers, both Yale graduates also, were prominent in Chile; one was a missionary-educator, the other a physician. And both were descendants of the original "Brother Jonathan" Trumbull of Connecticut revolutionary war fame. It was not known at the time, however, that Richard Trumbull's father had been required to resign from his position as United States consul at Talcahuano because of misappropriation of funds, nor was credence given to the suggestion that Richard Trumbull was trying to turn the attention of the Chileans from his failure to get the *Itata's* cargo safely to Chile by a series of bitter attacks on the United States government and its officials.¹⁶ The unproved assertions of the Trumbulls and other congressional sympathizers were accepted by such apparently reputable portions of the New York press as the *Evening Post*, *Times*, *Harper's Weekly*, and the *Nation* and became history when Professor Hart in his *Practical Essays in American Government* in 1893 called Egan's appointment "unsuitable and impolitic" and went on to state that it was unfortunate because of the natural English hostility, that Egan sympathized with Balmaceda, that he instigated the protection given the Central and South American Cable Company by the American squadron then in Chilean waters, and that his honor was open to question because of his son's accepting an appointment as agent for certain Americans having claims

per's Weekly (August 22, 1891), XXXV. 639; article in *New York Times*, January 29, 1892. See also John Trumbull, "Our neutrality in Chile", in *Nation* (October 8, 1891), LIII. 274-275; "American testimony from Chile", in *Nation* (January 21, 1892), LIV. 50; *A Challenge; Chili's Vindication, with Photographic Reproduction of Documentary Evidence* (Valparaiso, 1892).

¹⁵ *Yale University Obituary Records*, New Haven, 1893, 1897, 1920.

¹⁶ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1892, pp. 54-57.

against Chile. In this way, it is believed, the Egan tradition began. Are these strictures against Egan as given by Professor Hart and others justified?

The first charge against Egan is that he was a political appointee. Unquestionably he owed his position to his republican activities in Nebraska. This, however, was nothing new in political circles. The custom of rewarding faithful workers with offices was started with the federalists, it was confirmed by the good old democrat, Andrew Jackson, and it may be said to have reached a climax a decade ago when the diplomatic service in Hispanic America was disorganized in the search for posts for "deserving Democrats".¹⁷

It is admitted that this is only a *tu quoque* defense of Mr. Egan. The latter, however, was not an uncultured country editor whose horizon was bounded by the confines of "Podunk" County. Born in Ireland, he had early engaged in the milling business and at the age of thirty-one was a recognized leader in this industry. He then entered Irish politics "at a time when the British government was trying one of its periodical experiments in repression",¹⁸ was prosecuted at the great state trial of 1880 and acquitted. He lived two years in Paris where, presumably, he acquired something of the continental outlook on life and then came to the United States in 1883. Instead of stopping in New York and becoming a Tammany Hall ward-heeler as *ipso facto* all Irish are supposed to do, he showed his independence by following Horace Greeley's well known advice. In six years he built up a flourishing milling business in Nebraska, thus acquiring an income so sufficient that when in 1889 President Harrison offered him the post at Santiago he was able to accept it.¹⁹ It may be that a man with such training would be "unsuitable" for a diplomatic post but it certainly seems as though it is going a little too far to

¹⁷ George Harvey, "The Diplomats of Democracy", in *North American Review* (February, 1914), CXIX. 161-171.

¹⁸ See note 9.

¹⁹ See note 1.

say that "he was not qualified by information, experience, or disposition and habits".²⁰ It would be interesting to discover just how many diplomats of this period did have more of a background and training for service in foreign countries than had Mr. Egan.

Much has been said against his appointment because of the fact that he was bound through his Irish affiliations to incur British hostility. This is true. He had "for many years stood beyond the pale of English society"²¹ and at his first diplomatic appearance in Santiago the representative of the London *Times* turned his back on Egan when he was presented to him. Egan remarked, "It is no offence whatever as it does not come from a gentleman"²² and from that time on the great English newspaper fulminated vigorously against him. But the English would have disliked Mr. Egan anyhow and for that matter any other American who truly represented the United States. His knowledge of the milling industry enabled him to ingratiate himself very much with the Chileans.²³ He helped to get a concession for an American

²⁰ Johnson, *ut supra*, II. 195.

²¹ Maurice H. Hervey, *Dark Days in Chile* (London, 1892), p. 293.

²² *New York Tribune*, November 21, 1892. Letter signed "Observer".

²³ *Ibid.* "It must be confessed that he soon ingratiated himself very much with the Chileans themselves. Mr. Egan is an authority on all matters relating to corn, wheat, and flour, and I believe is exceedingly well up in flour-mills, and all matters connected with that branch of Chilean industry. Every one knows the high position Chilean flour holds on the West Coast. Before Egan had been long in Chile I had great pleasure in recording in the press several of his suggestions about improvements in flour-mills, hints about machinery, etc. The National Agrarian Society of Santiago also printed some very valuable hints made by Mr. Egan, which were accepted by many of the principal flour-mill owners in Chile".

In the introduction to this letter the writer states that he had recently arrived from Chile and finding current allegations against Egan he asked space not so much to defend as to do justice and dispel allegations derogatory to the dignity of a diplomat. "I am", he says, "an Englishman and a Conservative. But as an Englishman I enjoy fair play, and so cannot pass unnoticed those unwarranted even malicious attacks upon a man who, however opposed his political opinions may be to my own, has done his duty as a Minister. When it was announced that Mr. Egan was to be appointed United States Minister to Chili I opposed him strongly to the President, when he arrived I urged the Government

cable company which in time was to compete briskly with the English company then monopolizing the field. He discussed with Balmaceda the possibility of bringing United States capital into the nitrate business in order to break the British stranglehold on that industry. And last, and worst, he even proposed the establishment of an American steamship company which should challenge Britannia's rule of the South Pacific waves.²⁴ Indeed, Mr. Egan could not help but be *persona non grata* to the Court of St. James's because of all these.

Another charge against Egan that must be considered is that he was unneutral, that he was pro-Balmaceda. In some respects this is true. He thought Balmaceda would win and he preferred that he should. Many of the best observers of the time agreed with him as to the superior chances of Balmaceda (the American naval officers on the Chilean coast for instance)²⁵ and the day before the battle which overthrew

of Chili not to receive him. I interviewed him personally at Valparaiso and afterward called upon him three times through 'La Union' to justify himself regarding certain allegations and again requested the Chilean Government not to receive him. . . . As an Englishman and a Conservative", he concludes, "I consider him my political enemy. As Minister of the United States he commands the respect of all right thinking men".

²⁴ *New York Tribune*, November 13, 1891. The preponderance of English capital in the nitrate industry is so well known that nothing more need be said here. The English were particularly proud of the part played by their nationals in developing the industrial life of Chile and one writer did not hesitate to claim outright that the "material development of Chile is mainly a creation of English enterprise". E. M. Clarke, "Revolution in 1891", in *Dublin Review* (April 1891), CVIII, 308). The Chilean desire to break this monopoly is well portrayed in "The Chilean revolution by an old resident", in *Contemporary Review* (July, 1891), LX, 122-138.

²⁵ As late as March, 1891, Admiral McCann, writing from Caldera said that the congressionalists were "powerless to make any serious demonstration in the Southern provinces or even interrupt the ordinary traffic and business of the country as carried on through the principal commercial ports of the south. In other words, President Balmaceda is master of the situation, . . . it is evident to my mind that the land and naval forces of the Congressional Party are wholly inadequate to a successful prosecution or ending of the civil war in Chile". (*House Documents*, p. 244.)

Balmaceda took place the English *Spectator* was bewailing the fact that it seemed doubtful if Balmaceda could be disposed of.²⁶ As to the charge that Egan wanted Balmaceda to win, the writer believes that this is to Egan's credit. Careful study of Balmaceda's aims, methods and policies leads him to agree with the writer who says,

if Balmaceda had not in his temporary despair destroyed himself he would in all probability have been President of Chile again with greater power than ever. His name is even yet a power in politics; and those who opposed him most violently have come, when too late, to look back with longing eyes to his honest and capable, if somewhat autocratic administration as the only one suited to their country with its present state of advancement.²⁷

On the other hand, although it is admitted that Egan was pro-Balmaceda in that he both thought and hoped that Balmaceda would win, the writer can not find that Egan was guilty of any act which could be construed as contrary to his duty of acting as a neutral. Balmaceda himself stated in an interview that Egan, early in the war, had advised him to resign and stop hostilities.²⁸ The question of asylum was first raised when, much to the disgust of the Balmacedists, Egan protected several important congressionalists and threatened himself to shoot the first government soldier who should cross the threshold of the legation.²⁹ The question of safe-conducts

²⁶ *Spectator* (August 29, 1891), LXVII. 273.

²⁷ William Anderson Smith, *Temperate Chile* (London, 1899), p. 2. Mr. Smith adds, "While the *parvenus* foreign nitrate adventurers have lost caste as well as influence with all parties, the backbone of the country ask with anxiety whether the 'bankrupt oligarchy' and the 'depraved Papist clergy' are improvements on the strong hand of the honest administration they deposed".

²⁸ *New York Tribune*, September 21, 1891, reprint of special cable to the *New York Herald*, September 20. "Your Minister Patrick Egan, many times, offered me good advice. He urged me to make peace with those who opposed me and to retire from Chili. I did not heed his wise advice for I thought that he was under the influence of the Junta's orders who were then refugees in the American Legation".

²⁹ *House Documents*, 64. Mr. Egan's treatment of the question of asylum has been well discussed by John Bassett Moore, "Asylum in legations and consulates and in vessels", in *Political Science Quarterly* (March, June, September, 1892),

was also first raised in behalf of the congressionalists. In the spring of 1891 an attempt at mediation failed largely because of a bomb plot against the Balmaceda government which the dictator claimed had been instigated by those then engaged in an attempt to end the war. He withdrew the safe-conducts of the negotiators but they were renewed at the insistence of Egan who a little later persuaded Balmaceda to permit the United States consul to occupy the residence of one of the congressional leaders so that it would not be mobbed by the Balmacedists.³⁰ When an American citizen was imprisoned without justification by Balmaceda officials Egan secured his release and an indemnification of 2,000 pesos.³¹ Even if the "Itata incident" and the "Quinteros Bay episode" can be adduced as evidence of lack of impartiality by the United States government, Egan stands absolutely guiltless as regards them for he had nothing to do with either. And finally in the "Cable affair" he was involved only indirectly and none of the events which took place were initiated by him. It would seem, then, that whatever may have been his sympathies, Egan's conduct was as impartial as it could have been.

Another accusation against Egan which also seems to be without foundation is that he withheld information from his

VII. 1-37, 197-231, 397-418. His conclusion seems to be that from the standpoint of international law Mr. Egan was mostly right in 1891 but wrong in 1892 and 1893. At no time, however, does Mr. Moore indicate that Mr. Egan acted other than in a thoroughly impartial manner.

³⁰ *House Documents*, pp. 34-41; *New York Times*, August 30, 1891; *New York Tribune*, November 21, 1891. Balmaceda's biographer, Julio Bañados Espinosa, in his *Balmaceda—su gobierno y la revolución de 1891* (Paris, 1894), says (II. 727-28; translation), "I can personally declare that Mr. Egan really became the solicitor and apostle of the revolutionists in all that had as its object works of humanity. He kept the president and his ministers in a veritable state of siege with his solicitudinous appeals for pardon, diminution of penalties, and alleviation of the natural sufferings attendant upon all arrest and imprisonment. This apostleship of the revolutionists from January 7 to August 28 continued in favor of the conquered from August 29, since Egan was working under the inspiration, not of political law, but of the noblest Christian and humanitarian aspirations." Trumbull himself admitted that he felt grateful to Egan for having given him refuge from the dictator (*New York Times*, January 29, 1892).

³¹ *House Documents*, pp. 62-63.

government and did not keep the state department abreast of events in Chile. As one reads the correspondence today one can not but feel that Egan really did remarkably well. His reports are clear and to the point, at no time is there any bias manifested, and his discussion of the reported cruelties perpetrated by both sides is without animus.³²

The last of the accusations against Mr. Egan which it seems worth while to note may be summed up in the modern word "graft". It was not enough to impute this to Egan himself, but he was also made responsible for the reported sins of his son. As regards the latter two charges were made. It was stated first that he had profited largely from a government contract to build a few kilometers of railroad track. According to Francis Egan, he got this contract under fair competition, started work, and was getting along well when the government, having learned from him how to lay track efficiently, compelled him to stop and he quit his "very fat job" \$1,500 out of his pocket.³³ It was later charged that through improper influence Francis Egan obtained the right to represent a "crooked" construction company in a claim against the Chilean government.³⁴ Suffice it to say that the

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16, 57, 63-64.

³³ *New York Tribune*, November 13, 1891, translation of a communication appearing in *El Ferrocarril* of Chile, October 14, 1891. An illustration of the charges made against Egan is to be found in the *New York Times*, November 3, 1891. See also a letter from John Trumbull in the *Nation*, January 21, 1892 (LIV. 50-51). Trumbull admittedly was never able to substantiate his charges, proof in his mind of the super-duplicity of the Egan; Mr. Roosevelt gleefully pounced upon such a statement as "I frankly own that his shrewdness has made it impossible to get any proof against him". Concerning Egan, Roosevelt said, "I was no friend of Mr. Egan's appointment, but he has acted as an American representative in a way which proves he deserves well of all Americans, and I earnestly hope that his career in our diplomatic service may be long and that in it he may rise to the highest position" (Theodore Roosevelt, "Foreign policy of President Harrison", in *Independent* (August 11, 1892), XLIV. 1115).

³⁴ *New York Times*, January 24, 1892. For a somewhat self-satisfied English account of the failure of an American company (probably the above) to enter the railroad construction field of Chile, considered by the British as a proper field of enterprise for their nationals only, see Edward Manby, "Note on affairs in Chili", in *Fortnightly Review* (July, 1891), n.s. LVI. 101.

officials of the company stated that they were satisfied with Mr. Egan's services³⁵ and it is to be noted that so far was this claim from being "fraudulent" that a few years later rather than have it come before a mixed claims commission the Chilean government preferred to settle it by direct negotiation.³⁶

The charges of graft on the part of Mr. Egan himself are just as absurd. It was charged as already noted that Egan worked improperly with Balmaceda in an attempt to establish a huge nitrate monopoly. He probably did hope that American capital might become interested and Balmaceda undoubtedly would have grasped at anything which would have helped him carry out his policy of "Chile for Chileans", but there is no evidence that the matter went further than was legitimate. He was accused of "running a big hotel" during the months when he was extending asylum to the Balmacedist refugees. It was even stated that he received as much as \$2,000 from one single individual.³⁷ Egan himself in November, after he had had the refugees with him for some two months stated that he had already spent \$5,000 out of his own pocket because he felt that neither his own reputation nor his country's justified him in charging the poor unfortunates for their food and lodging.³⁸ It was also claimed that Egan was guilty of an impropriety when he transmitted to Washington Balmaceda's request that the United States government sell him a second-hand battleship or two. In his letter of transmittal it is to be noted, however, that there is no recommendation from Egan pro or con.³⁹ In this connection it may be remarked that the London *Times* correspondent was disgruntled because he had failed just before the civil war to

³⁵ *New York Times*, January 24, 1892.

³⁶ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1895, pp. 83-86. The Company was given \$150,000. Needless to say the *Nation* was silent at this time.

³⁷ *New York Times*, January 14, 1892.

³⁸ *House Documents*, p. 140.

³⁹ *House Documents*, pp. 21-22.

secure a contract for an English firm, and during the war did his best to obtain business from the congressionalists. The latter, however, had all the ships they needed, their chief lack being arms and ammunition. Under the circumstances it is easily understood that through English channels anti-Harrison newspapers were well supplied with full accounts of Egan's duplicity.⁴⁰

In concluding this discussion of Mr. Egan one may well quote the opinions of two naval officers who had perhaps a better opportunity than any other Americans to see him in action. It is true that pacifistically inclined followers of the *Nation* will not give much attention to that of "Fighting Bob" Evans (it is said that when it looked like war between the United States and Chile that doughty seaman threatened to "fill Hell with garlic"); but it is felt that at least he was not pre-prejudiced in Egan's favor. When Evans first arrived in Chile he kept aloof from Egan, so far as possible, because he was "quite determined to attend to [his] own business and not get mixed up with [the] muddle". Later on he was forced to do so and as a result confided to his log,

as to Egan, he has only done what he was instructed to do from Washington, and he has done it capitally well. The Chilean Secretary of State has found himself outclassed every time he has tackled the little Irishman, who really writes clearly, forcibly and beautifully and so far they have not scored a point against him. . . . Egan has come out of the whole business with flying colors, and were it not for what might be said I would wear a green ribbon in my button-hole to-morrow simply to show my respect for the sandy little Irishman.⁴¹

Rear-Admiral Schley in somewhat less picturesque language said on December 9, 1891,

⁴⁰ *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 16, 1891; *New York Times*, January 20, 1892.

⁴¹ Robley D[unghlison] Evans, *A sailor's log: recollections of forty years of naval life* (New York, 1911), pp. 268-281, *passim*.

in taking leave of you, my dear minister, I need hardly add that I do so with much regret and I assure you that I go away with the fullest pride and confidence that we have the right man in the right place.⁴²

This account of Mr. Egan, it is believed, may be summed up as follows: A political appointee, he was from the first subject to criticism by the anti-administration press. His previous activities in England and his propagation of United States interests in Chile rendered him *persona non grata* to the British in Chile. Inasmuch as the American newspapers were in the habit of depending on the British press for much of their foreign news, the latter's criticism of Egan obtained wide circulation throughout the United States especially in anti-Blaine organs. These put the worst possible construction on every act of Blaine and therefore Egan, and apparently made no effort to find out whether or not their accusations had any real foundation. As an actual fact, no act of Egan's with the single exception of his attempt to secure a battleship for Balmaceda has ever been brought to light which shows that he was un-neutral during the Chilean civil war.⁴³ The *Itata*, Quinteros Bay, and Cable incidents were the prime factors in causing the hostility towards the United States which resulted in the "*Baltimore incident*". The abuse which was and has been heaped upon Mr. Egan came to him not because of any incapacity or dereliction in duty but because he was the representative of a nation whose government, unable to act in such a way as to secure the friendship of both parties to a civil war, had made the mistake of picking the loser. To the credit of the Chileans it is to be noted that their historians have been far ahead of those of this country in giving Mr. Egan his due and this paper may well close with the following quotation from the work of the eminent Pedro Pablo Figueroa (translation):

⁴² *House Documents*, p. 175.

⁴³ It is true that he considered the use of an American war-ship by Balmaceda for the purpose of transporting gold to Europe, but since this was eventually done by an English war-ship, it would seem hardly just to let his proposal of the same thing bear much weight against him (*New York Times*, March 9, July 28, 1891).

Since his [Egan's] departure from Chile and his return to the United States his name has been remembered with respect, admiration, gratitude, and affection by the Chileans who are indebted to him for his powerful international protection.⁴⁴

Occidental College.

OSGOOD HARDY.

⁴⁴ Pedro Pablo Figueroa, *Diccionario biográfico de extranjeros en Chile* (Santiago, 1900), p. 253. The comments on Egan are in the "Notas complementarias" written under date of 1901, but bound with the 1900 edition of the *Diccionario*.

DOCUMENTS

JAMES WILKINSON'S FIRST DESCENT TO NEW ORLEANS IN 1787

The object of this note and the accompanying documents is to explain how James Wilkinson succeeded in descending the Mississippi River past the Spanish posts and in arriving at New Orleans in July, 1787, unmolested by Spanish officials. It is a well known fact that in 1784 the Spanish government issued a proclamation closing the Mississippi River to all foreigners pending the adjustment by treaty of outstanding disputes with the United States.¹ For several years (*i.e.*, until 1789) this proclamation was enforced and the property of American citizens attempting to navigate the river below its junction with the Ohio was confiscated by the Spanish government.² How did Wilkinson succeed where others had failed? Even had he come as a mere sightseer, a tourist, he would have been liable to arrest, as the Spanish dominions were closed to travelers as well as to merchants; but Wilkinson was not a mere tourist, for he brought with him a flatboat loaded with "flour, butter, bacon and tobacco".³ Nor can his success be attributed to any invitation or overtures from Spain, for, as Professor W. R. Shepherd has pointed out,⁴ the Spanish intrigue in Kentucky was begun on the initiative of Wilkinson, not of Spain, and was begun after he had completed the journey now under discussion and had arrived unmolested at New Orleans.

¹ Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I. 237; Archivo General de Indias (Seville), 146-3-11, Rendón to José de Gálvez, Philadelphia, February 12, 1785, No. 124.

² Information relating to two such cases will be found in *Secret Journals of Congress, Foreign Affairs*, III. 610-611, and *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII. 359.

³ W. R. Shepherd, "Wilkinson and the beginnings of the Spanish conspiracy", *American Historical Review*, IX. 494.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

Previous writers on this subject have generally taken for granted Wilkinson's safe descent of the Mississippi, and have confined their attention to his reception by Governor Miró and Intendant Navarro at New Orleans. Professor Shepherd, in his notable article on Wilkinson, gathers together some of the explanations offered in this connection by Wilkinson and his contemporaries and by subsequent writers, and then advances his own.⁵ Among Wilkinson's contemporaries we may mention Daniel Clark, who claimed that his uncle, a New Orleans merchant, persuaded Miró not to confiscate Wilkinson's property, since the latter's influence in Kentucky would make him a dangerous enemy to Spanish Louisiana. Wilkinson, however, denied this, and furthermore averred that he arrived in New Orleans in July, 1787, a "perfect stranger".⁶ Miró and Navarro explained to the court, in the letter transmitting Wilkinson's memorial (September, 1787) that it was Wilkinson who had destroyed George Rogers Clark's expedition against Natchez in the spring of that year.⁷ Their statement might be understood to imply that they were acquainted with the fact before Wilkinson's arrival in New Orleans; and it has apparently been so accepted by Professor Shepherd, as it seems to be the only authority for his assertion that Wilkinson's military and political reputation preceded him to New Orleans and that in consequence Miró forbore to seize his boats and cargo until the precise object of his visit could be ascertained.

Now it is a curious fact that, on the one hand, there is no indication that Miró and Navarro ever had the slightest intention of seizing his boats and cargo, nor yet, on the other hand, is there any evidence that before his arrival in New Orleans they knew of the existence of such a person as James Wilkin-

⁵ Ibid., p. 494 and notes 6 and 7. See especially Gayarré, *Louisiana: the Spanish Domination*, pp. 194-197, and M. Serrano y Sanz, *El Brigadier Jaime Wilkinson*, pp. 17-22.

⁶ Wilkinson's account of his descent will be found in his *Memoirs*, II. 108-111.

⁷ Despatch No. 13 *reservado* [secret], addressed to the Ministro de Indias, dated New Orleans, September 25, 1787: Archivo General de Indias, 86-6-16.

son. The letter which is apparently Professor Shepherd's authority was written by Miró and Navarro in September, 1787, and, with regard to their acquaintance with Wilkinson, states nothing more than that they were aware at the time of writing the letter (*i.e.*, three and one half months after the date of his arrival in New Orleans) that Wilkinson was a person of consequence in Kentucky.⁸ They do not state when or how they acquired this information, and nothing in the letter warrants the assertion that Wilkinson's fame was known to them before his arrival in New Orleans. Moreover, we have evidence of a negative character that Wilkinson was either unknown or lightly esteemed at New Orleans as late as June 1, 1787, for, while, at a later time, Miró frequently declared that Wilkinson's first service to Spain was his opposition to the projected attack on Louisiana by Clark and Green in the spring of 1787, yet in a comprehensive despatch describing the failure of that project and dated June 1, 1787, Miró did not even mention Wilkinson.⁹ There is no evidence that the governor heard of him in the course of the month that intervened between the writing of this letter and Wilkinson's arrival at New Orleans.

There have recently appeared two other works containing accounts of Wilkinson's reception at New Orleans. These accounts are mutually contradictory, and yet neither writer seems aware that there might be any other version of the affair than his own. In one of these books, Mr. Temple Bodley¹⁰ tells us that Wilkinson prepared the way for his arrival by instructing a confidential agent in New Orleans

to warn Governor Miro that arrest of so eminent an American would likely cause war and perhaps Spain's loss of Louisiana. Under instructions the agent even suggested to Miro that it was probably Wilkinson's real purpose to provoke his own arrest in order to bring

⁸ Letter of Miró and Navarro cited in preceding note.

⁹ Archivo General de Indias, 86-6-16, Miró to the Marqués de Sonora, June 1, 1787, No. 9 *reservada*.

¹⁰ *Renrints of Littell's Political Transactions*, (Filson Club Publications, No. 51), *Introduction*, pp. xxxix-xl.

on a war and conquest of Louisiana, and that it would therefore be safer for the Governor to receive the distinguished American courteously, instead of arresting him. With Miro thus alarmed in advance, Wilkinson could pretty confidently expect an attentive hearing, and this he received.

The other recent account, written by Professor Samuel F. Bemis,¹¹ runs as follows:

His [Wilkinson's] ready wit somehow got him by the Spanish posts. He actually floated down to New Orleans before his cargo was seized and himself arrested and brought before the Spanish Governor. . . . It is certain that he [Wilkinson] was no whit daunted by his detention.

Mr. Bodley implies that Wilkinson was not arrested, Professor Bemis asserts that he was, and neither of them tells us how he reached New Orleans. Clearly the whole episode needs more careful study.

Fortunately, documents exist which enable us to follow with some degree of assurance the course of Wilkinson's relations with the Spanish officials on the Mississippi up to the time of his safe arrival in New Orleans. From these documents and from other sources is drawn the following brief account of Wilkinson's preparatory measures and his descent to New Orleans in 1787.

Some time late in 1786, Wilkinson attempted, with the aid of no less a person than John Marshall, to secure a passport from Governor Randolph of Virginia,¹² and from the circumstances that will shortly appear it is highly probable that he intended to use the passport for a journey down the Mississippi to New Orleans. About the same time, he also attempted through Baron von Steuben to obtain a passport from Gardoqui for the same purpose.¹³ As a further preparation, he

¹¹ *Pinckney's Treaty*, p. 135.

¹² *American Historical Review*, XII. 346-348.

¹³ Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, leg. 177, Wilkinson to Gardoqui, January 1, 1789 (Spanish translation). The text of this letter will be found in Gayarré, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-251.

wrote the first of the letters appended below. This letter, dated December 20, 1786, was addressed to the commandant of the Spanish post at St. Louis, Francisco Cruzat. The subject of the letter was George Rogers Clark's recent seizure of the property of Spanish subjects at Vincennes, which Wilkinson deplored on behalf of all the law-abiding people of Kentucky. His letter was accompanied by one in English from Richard Anderson to the commandant (the text of this letter also is given below), and both were delivered at St. Louis by a Captain Carberry.

Wilkinson's next communication to the commandant of St. Louis was dated May 15, 1787. By this time he had doubtless received John Marshall's letter informing him that Governor Randolph was of the opinion that he had no authority to issue a passport for use outside of Virginia,¹⁴ and by this time it was also apparent that there was no hope of getting a passport from Gardoqui. At St. Louis Wilkinson's efforts had met with more success, and Carberry had returned with the cheering news of the favorable reception given him by the commandant of that post. Wilkinson had then completed his preparations and had begun his journey down the Ohio. Arrived at its junction with the Mississippi, he went into camp, wrote Francisco Cruzat, commandant of St. Louis, the letter of May 15 mentioned above, again despatched Captain Carberry as his messenger, and awaited an answer.

In this letter¹⁵ he referred to his "former address" to Cruzat (*i.e.*, the letter of December 20, 1786), thanked him for his civilities to Captain Carberry on his previous mission to St. Louis, stated that he was on his way to Philadelphia *via* New Orleans, and asked for a passport for himself, his servant, and baggage. Informing Cruzat of the failure of Green's projected attack on Louisiana, mentioned in his previous letter, Wilkinson concluded with the postscript: "You will

¹⁴ See note 12.

¹⁵ Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, leg. 2373, Wilkinson to Cruzat, May 15, 1787 (original in English, in Wilkinson's handwriting).

pardon this scral, wrote under the assaults of Legions of Musquitoes.”

Just what action Cruzat took on receiving Wilkinson's request cannot be stated with certainty. Search has failed to discover any letter from Cruzat either to Miró or to the commandant at Natchez, Carlos de Grand-Pré, referring to this affair, but there can be little doubt that he did write such a letter or letters. In the first place, the presence in the Spanish archives of Wilkinson's letters to Cruzat proves beyond a reasonable doubt that Cruzat forwarded them to Miró with a covering letter, and the Spanish government's neglect of its Louisiana records until very recent times will explain the absence of this covering letter from its proper place in the colonial archives. Cruzat's hypothetical despatch was probably written about June 1, 1787, in order to transmit Wilkinson's letter to him of May 15, and also, we may suppose, enclosed the earlier letter (that of December 20, 1786), which would not seem to require transmission on its own account, but would be necessary to explain the letter of May 15. Cruzat's despatch probably did not reach Miró before the arrival of the expeditious Wilkinson at New Orleans (July 2), but at the same time or later.

In the second place, it seems highly probable that Cruzat wrote about Wilkinson to Grand-Pré as well as to Miró. Whether the letter was official or personal, and whether or not he gave Wilkinson the desired passport, it is impossible to say. Grand-Pré's letter to Miró (see below) reporting Wilkinson's arrival at Natchez contains no reference to any kind of communication from Cruzat, and yet some sort of introduction Wilkinson must have had. We know that Captain Carberry carried his letter of May 15 to Cruzat, and that the object of this letter was to obtain a passport for the voyage down the Mississippi. We also know that "a captain", probably Carberry, accompanied Wilkinson on his arrival at Natchez. It seems highly probable, therefore, that Carberry delivered Wilkinson's letter to Cruzat and returned to his

employer with a reply satisfactory enough to induce Wilkinson to continue on his way down the Mississippi. This assumption is strengthened by Grand-Pré's treatment of Wilkinson. Instead of forcing the American to return to Kentucky, as the law required, or of holding him a virtual prisoner at Natchez while consulting Miró, as was done in extraordinary cases, the Spanish commandant entertained Wilkinson in Fort Panmure, showed him every courtesy, permitted him to continue immediately on his way to New Orleans, and recommended him warmly to the governor. Even the engaging personality of the American adventurer or the flattering promises that he knew so well how to hold out will hardly explain Grand-Pré's assumption of such a responsibility. Everything indicates that he had knowledge of unusual circumstances entitling Wilkinson to special consideration. It is highly improbable that he owed this knowledge to Miró, for he wrote as if Wilkinson were (as he probably was) an utter stranger to the governor. It seems probable, therefore, that Cruzat complied with Wilkinson's request to the extent of giving him a personal letter to Grand-Pré in order to facilitate his descent to New Orleans.

However this may be, Wilkinson left his camp at the mouth of the Ohio and continued on his way down the river. On June 16, 1787, he arrived at Natchez, accompanied by "a captain" (probably Carberry), a slave and a servant, and followed by a barge. As we have seen, Grand-Pré entertained him in Fort Panmure and wrote Miró an official letter (June 18, 1787) recommending him highly. Grand-Pré's letter apparently left Natchez with Wilkinson and arrived in New Orleans at the same time that Wilkinson did, namely, on July 2.¹⁶ This letter alone was enough to save Wilkinson from immediate arrest and makes it unlikely that the intervention of Daniel Clark's uncle was required, for when once the Kentuckian obtained a hearing his own glib tongue could be relied

¹⁶ Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, leg. 4, Miró to Grand-Pré, July 3, 1787, No. 240.

on to do the rest. Finally, Grand-Pré's letter is the only evidence, so far as the present writer is aware, that Wilkinson's fame preceded him to New Orleans, as Professor Shepherd says. It would therefore be more accurate to say that his fame accompanied him to New Orleans.

That Wilkinson was not arrested on his arrival at New Orleans is further indicated by his own report of the affair to Gardoqui in a letter dated January 1, 1789.¹⁷ In this letter Wilkinson declared that in 1787 he had run the risk of prosecution by entering Louisiana without a passport or permission, determined, if he failed in that quarter, to negotiate with the British; but that he was most warmly welcomed by the governor and intendant. We are justified in inferring from this letter that Wilkinson was not arrested, for, since he sent a copy of it to Miró, the facts stated in it must have been accurate so far as they could have been known to the governor, and a faithful statement of the facts would have required a reference to the arrest if Wilkinson had been arrested. Furthermore, we have two letters written from New Orleans at the time of Wilkinson's visit there, one by Villars, the French *commissaire* in Louisiana,¹⁸ the other by Enrique White, *sargento mayor* of the fixed regiment of Louisiana,¹⁹ and although both of these letters mention Wilkinson's presence in the city, neither of them contains any allusion to an arrest. Since neither Miró, Navarro, Wilkinson, White, nor Villars mentions an arrest, it is highly improbable that Wilkinson was arrested on his arrival at New Orleans.

In conclusion, this note and the accompanying documents show that George Rogers Clark's act of violence at Vincennes was the starting point of James Wilkinson's intrigue with Spain; they corroborate (if corroboration were needed) Professor Shepherd's statement that Wilkinson, not the Span-

¹⁷ Wilkinson to Gardoqui, *op. cit.* (see note 13).

¹⁸ For the text of this letter, see No. 4 of the accompanying documents.

¹⁹ Archivo General de Indias, 86-6-16, Zéspedes to Valdés, November 21, 1787, No. 2 *reservada*, quoting a paragraph from a letter from Enrique White to Carlos Howard, dated New Orleans, July 20.

iards, took the initiative in the Kentucky intrigue; and they give the first authentic information as to the circumstances of his first voyage down the Mississippi and of his arrival at New Orleans. Some of the details of his descent are conjectural, but there seems to be little doubt that for once in his life Wilkinson told the truth when he said in his *Memoirs* that he arrived in New Orleans in July, 1787, a "perfect stranger". He remained a stranger only until Miró had opened his mail received on the same day and had read Grand-Pré's despatch of June 18. This letter assured Wilkinson a favorable welcome and a hearing for his schemes, and crowned with success the plan that he had been maturing at least as far back as the fall of 1786.

It may be added by way of postscript that George Rogers Clark was well aware that his enemies in Kentucky had capitalized the Vincennes episode in order to open commercial relations with Louisiana. In 1788 Clark, like so many other Americans, offered Gardoqui his services for the establishment of a colony in Spanish territory. Defending his conduct at Vincennes two years earlier, he protested that his enemies in Kentucky had misrepresented the affair, and continued:

The real motive of my accusers [in Kentucky] was that, wishing to trade with New Orleans, they thought that by pretending to take the side of the Spanish vassals, they might hope to be favored in their projected commerce.²⁰

He could hardly have stated the case more accurately even if he had seen Wilkinson's letter of December 20, 1786, to the Spanish commandant of St. Louis.

The documents and translations follow:

²⁰ Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Sección de Estado, leg. 3894, Gardoqui to Floridablanca, New York, July 25, 1788, No. 282, enclosing a Spanish translation of a letter from George Rogers Clark to Gardoqui, dated Falls of the Ohio, March 15, 1788. Mr. Temple Bodley, *op. cit.*, and George Rogers Clark, *passim*, makes a valuable contribution to the history of the rivalry of Clark and Wilkinson.

DOCUMENT NO. 1²¹

JAMES WILKINSON TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF ST. LOUIS,
DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY, DECEMBER 20, 1786.

District de Kentock 20 X^{bre} 1786.

Monsieur

Mes Sentiments sur ce qui est dû à la foy publique, mon désir de ne pas voir exposé la dignité de mon pays, et ces liens qui connectent partout les hommes d'honneur, m'ont engagé à m'adresser à Votre Excellence dans ce moment.

Afin de vendiquer l'honneur du peuple parmi lequel je vis maintenant, J'ose vous assurer que l'outrage commis dernièrement contre la propriété d'un marchand Espagnol au poste Vincennes est désavoué généralement ici, et n'est l'ouvrage que d'un petit nombre d'hommes sans principes sous le commandement de Général Clark, lequel ayant été déchargé de sa commission en qualité d'officier militaire, n'est maintenant qu'un simple citoyen. Le poste Vincennes étant hors de la Jurisdiction de l'état de Virginie il n'est pas au pouvoir de la Judicature de lui infliger aucune punition, mais nous nous sommes adressés à ce sujet au Gouverneur qui transmettra cette affaire au Congrès où nous espérons qu'on prendra des mesures pour punir l'offenseur. En même tems Je peux assurer Votre Excellence que si la personne qui a souffert par cette déprédation veut venir ici, il est en son pouvoir d'avoir une ample reparation en commençant un procès dans nos cours judiciaires contre Mr Clark.

Mais, Monsieur, J'ai à vous communiquer quelque chose de plus grande importance. Le voisinage de nos établissemens et des déserts de l'autre côté de l'Ohio est si favorable à ceux qui entreprennent de vivre de rapine et de piraterie que la vigilance de notre Gouvernement qui sied à six cent miles d'ici n'est pas suffisante pour mettre nos amis et alliés à couvert d'insultes pareilles: à ce moment présent, un certain colonel Green, et autres hommes de fortune désespérée, méditent d'attaquer les postes de Sa Majesté très Catholique aux Natchez

²¹ Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 199. Only the signature of this letter is in Wilkinson's handwriting. A copy or draft of this letter, in Wilkinson's handwriting and in English is in the above archives in Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 2373. It is dated "[Falls of the Ohio: *crossed out in original*] District of Kentucky 20 Deer. 1786", and is without signature or direction.

en violation des lois de leur pays, de la foi des traités, et de la coutûme des Nations. Afin de prévenir ce coup de piraterie, et de vous mettre en état par des moyens sûrs non seulement de prévenir, mais de tirer vengeance sur les auteurs de ce complot, j'ai crû de mon devoir de vous donner cet avis de bonne heure. Nous ferons ici tout ce qui est en notre pouvoir pour prévenir cette association, mais par les raisons que je vous ai déduites, ils peuvent éluder notre vigilance. A tout é[vénement] ce parti ne sera pas en mouvement avant le 20 de février, ce qui vous donne le tems d'informer son Excellence Don Miro du plan projeté.

Je recommande à votre attention le porteur de la présente Capitaine Carberry en qualité de frère d'armes. Sa conduite dans la dernière guerre dans laquelle il a servi parmi les troupes de l'Amérique lui a attiré les honneurs et les applaudissements les plus mérités, et dans tous les cas vous pouvez reposer votre confiance en son zèle pour tirer vengeance d'aucun outrage qu'on puisse offrir aux sujets de sa Majesté Très Catholique.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec le plus profond respect

Monsieur
 Votre très humble et
 très obeissant Serviteur
 [signed] JAMES WILKINSON.

[*Addressed:*] à son Excellence le Gouverneur de St. Louis.

[TRANSLATION]

District of Kentucky, 20 December, 1786.

Sir:

My sentiments on what is due to public faith, my unwillingness to see the dignity of my country exposed, and those bonds which unite men of honor everywhere, have led me to address myself to your Excellency at this time.

In order to vindicate the honor of the people among whom I am now living, I venture to assure you that the outrage recently committed against the property of a Spanish merchant at the post of Vincennes is generally disavowed here, and is the work of only a small number of unprincipled men under the command of General Clark, who, having been discharged from his commission as an officer in the army, is now only a private citizen. The post of Vincennes being out-

side of the jurisdiction of the state of Virginia, it is not within the power of its courts to inflict any punishment upon him, but we have addressed the governor on this subject. He will communicate this affair to congress, where we hope measures will be taken to punish the offender. At the same time, I can assure your Excellency that, if the person who suffered by this depredation cares to come here, it is in his power to obtain ample reparation by bringing suit in our courts of law against Mr. Clark.

But, sir, I have something of still greater importance to communicate to you. The proximity of our settlements to the deserts on the other side of the Ohio is so favorable to those who undertake to live by rapine and piracy that the vigilance of our government, which is situated six hundred miles away, is not sufficient to protect our friends and allies from such insults: at this very moment, a certain Colonel Green and other desperate adventurers are meditating an attack on the posts of his most Catholic Majesty at Natchez, in violation of the laws of their country, of the faith of treaties, and of the custom of nations. In order to prevent this act of piracy and in order to enable you with certainty not only to forestall but also to take vengeance upon the authors of this plot, I thought it my duty to give you this warning in good time. We shall do everything in our power here to foil this band but, for the reasons that I have mentioned, they may elude our vigilance. At all events, this party will not start before February 20, which gives you time to inform his Excellency, Don Miró, of the projected plan.

I recommend to your attention the bearer of this letter, Captain Carberry, as a brother in arms. His conduct in the late war, in which he served in the American forces, won for him most richly merited honors and plaudits, and in any case you can rely on his zeal to take vengeance for any outrage that may be offered to the subjects of his most Catholic Majesty.

I have the honor to be with the most profound respect

Sir

Your very humble and
very obedient Servant

[signed] JAMES WILKINSON.

[Addressed:] To his Excellency the Governor of St. Louis.

DOCUMENT NO. 2²²

RICHARD C. ANDERSON TO THE GOVERNOR OF ST. LOUIS, JANUARY 1,
1786 [*i.e.*, 1787].

Louisville, January 1st, 1786 [*i.e.*, 1787].

Sir

Your Excellency will excuse the liberty of a letter from a stranger to your person on the present occasion: The seizure of one of your Boats at Post St Vincent by a set of men without any color of Authority, and expresly contrary to the inclination and Interest of the Inhabitants of this District, as will plainly appear by a report of a Committee of Convention, of which I have the Honour of being a member, and send you this by their approbation. On the arrival of the Boat we detained Seven Hundred weight of Beaver fur, either taken in the Boat, or the produce of the cargo, to be refunded to the Origin[al] Owner, or Owners when called for, and for the balance would advise a civil prosecution, by which means the Owners would not only recover their just demand but sufficient and addequate damages. As to the particulars of this transaction I beg leave to refer Your Excellency to General Wilkinson's letter which will be handed you together with this by Captain Carbery a Gentlemen of the late American Army, and a Man of Integrity and Honour, And may have Occasion for Your Excellency's atten[tion] in serving of whom your Excellency will confer [an] Obligation on Your Excellencies most Obedient and

Very Hbble servant

[signed] RICHARD C. ANDERSON.

[*Addressed:*] His Excellency The Governor of St. Louis.

DOCUMENT NO. 3²³

GRAND-PRE A MIRO. FUERTE PANMUR, JUNIO 18 DE 1787.

n.º 360.

Antes de ayer a las doce del día llegaron aqui los Americanos Jph Parker Carlos Agustin Geoffrey y Juan Kice Jones con los enganchados Guillermo Hollard, Pedro Ferguson y Juan Ridelle, en una Bercha

²² Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 199.

²³ Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. Papeles de Cuba, Legajo 13.

cargada de diez Paquetes de Pieles de venado y Castor que llevan dicen únicamente para pagar los gastos del viage hasta Nueva Orleans donde se dirigen para solicitar de V. S. el permiso de establecerse en esta Provincia. Les é dexado esta Peltreria baxo la expresada condicion de no disponer absolutamente de ella hasta que se hayan presentado á V. S.

Por la tarde del mismo dia llegó igualmente el Brigadier de los Extos de los Estados Vnidos de America D.ⁿ Juan Wilkesen en vna canoa con vn Capitan que le acompaña, vn esclavo suyo y vn enganchado á quien é dado vn quarto en este Fuerte, obsequiando lo de todas mis facultades, siendo este Oficial mui recomendable por todos terminos. Está esperando aqui vn Lanchon mui grande que á de llegar oy, para seguir con el su viage hasta esa Capital, donde se deue embarcar para Philadelphia. No hago á V. S. ningun detal sobre las notizias que é adquirido de este Oficial respecto de hallarse al Ynstante de baxar, y de participar á V. S. por si mismo las que ocurren en el dia, las que esparcieron y esparcen los bagabundos son falsas como sucede Siempre.

Dios Gue a V. S. muchos años. Fuerte Panmur de Natchez 18 de Junio de 1787.

CARLOS DE GRAND-PRE.

[*Rubricado*]

[*Addressed:*] S.^{or} D.ⁿ Estevan Miró.

[TRANSLATION]

Fort Panmure [Natchez], June 18, 1787.

No. 360.

Day before yesterday at noon the Americans Joseph Parker, Charles Augustine Geoffrey and John Kice Jones arrived here with the *enganchados* [*i.e.*, river boatmen?], William Hollard, Peter Ferguson, and John Ridelle, in a boat with a cargo of ten bundles of deer and beaver skins, which they say they are bringing for the sole purpose of paying the expenses of the voyage to New Orleans, where they are going to ask your lordship for permission to settle in this province. I let them keep this peltry on the express condition that they should not dispose of it under any circumstances until they have presented themselves before your Lordship.

On the afternoon of the same day arrived likewise the brigadier general of the army of the United States of America, John Wilkesen

[i.e., James Wilkinson], in a canoe with a captain who is accompanying him, his slave, and an *enganchado*. I gave him a room in this fort, entertaining him to the best of my ability, since this officer is a very worthy person in every respect. He is awaiting here a big barge, which should arrive today, in order to continue with it his voyage to the capital, where he is to embark for Philadelphia. I shall not dwell on the information that I have obtained from this officer, since he is on the point of departure and will himself inform your Lordship of what is going on. The reports that vagabonds spread and are spreading are false, as is always the case.

May God keep your Lordship many years. Fort Panmure, Natchez, June 18, 1787.

[signed] CARLOS DE GRAND-PRE.

[*Rubric*]

[*Addressed:*] Señor Don Estevan Miró.

DOCUMENT NO. 424

COPIE D'UNE LETTRE DE M. DE VILLARS COMMISSAIRE DU ROI A LA LOUISIANE, A M. M. LES GENERAL ET INTENDANT DE ST. DOMINGUE, DATEE DE LA NELLE ORLEANS LE 26/7^{BRE}. 1787.

Messieurs

Le Brigadier Américain Wilkenson, descendu icy du Kentoky dans le courant de Juillet dernier, vient de partir pour se rendre par mer, à Charlestown. il a eu dans les derniers moments de son séjour ici, de longues Conférences avec les administrateurs Espagnols et il leur a donné sur les établissemens de Lohio, tous les Renseignemens et plans Nécessaires pour exciter les allarmes de ces Messieurs et appuyer la demande qu'ils font à leur Cour pour la liberté du Commerce du Kentoky avec la Nouvelle Orléans.

Mr. Wilkenson a donné clairement à entendre que peu de tems avant Son départ les habitans de L'Ohio s'étoient décidés à forcer Le passage, mais qu'il avoit obtenu d'eux la suspension de leurs Mouvements jusqu'au terme de Ses négociations avec les administrateurs de

²⁴ Original in Paris, Arch. Nat., Colonies, C13A. 50. 221-221^{vo}. This copy was made from a transcript in the Library of Congress.

la Louisiane. On pense que Cette assertion déterminera enfin L'acquiescement de la Cour d'Espagne aux Clauses du dernier Traité de Paix.

Je suis avec Respect &ca

signé VILLARS
Pour Copie
DEMARBOIS

[TRANSLATION]

COPY OF A LETTER FROM M. DE VILLARS, COMMISSAIRE OF THE KING IN LOUISIANA, TO THE GENERAL AND INTENDANT OF SANTO DOMINGO, DATED NEW ORLEANS, SEPTEMBER 26, 1787.

Gentlemen:

The American Brigadier General Wilkinson, who came down here from Kentucky last July, has just left for Charleston by sea. At the end of his stay here he had long conferences with the Spanish officials, and, in regard to the settlements on the Ohio, he gave those gentlemen all the information and plans necessary to excite their fear and to support the request that they are making to their court for freedom of commerce between Kentucky and New Orleans.

Mr. Wilkinson has made it clear that shortly before his departure the settlers on the Ohio decided to compel the opening of the Mississippi, but that he had persuaded them to suspend action pending the outcome of his negotiations with the officials of Louisiana. It is thought that this statement will at last bring about the acquiescence of the court of Spain in the clauses of the late treaty of peace.

I am with respect, etc.,

[signed] VILLARS
A Copy
DE MARBOIS

ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER.

Vanderbilt University.

BOOK REVIEWS

Maximilien und Charlotte von Mexiko. Nach dem Bischer unveröffentlichten Geheimarchive des Kaisers Maximilien und sonstigen unbekannten Quellen. By EGON CAESAR CONTE CORTI. (Wein: Amalthea-Verlag, 1925. 2 vols.)

Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico is a product of the World War for Herr Corti, like Herr Goos and others who have used materials made available by the débâcle in Austria, could not have written this work without the use of the materials in the secret archives of the Hapsburgers. Herr Corti has of course concerned himself chiefly with the materials formerly in the secret archives of Maximilian—materials, the bulk of which, by the way, was ordered collected by Maximilian in 1866 and shipped to Austria.

The work is divided into two volumes of unequal size, each volume having six chapters, and the whole covering about a thousand pages. The first deals with the history of Mexico to 1861 and the activities of the Mexican émigrés and the proponents of a monarchy in Mexico, including the formal acceptance of the crown of that country by Maximilian at Miramar, April 10, 1864, and the departure of the imperial party from Miramar on board the *Novara* four days later. The second deals with the voyage to Mexico City and the events of the reign of Maximilian and Charlotte, concluding with the execution of the emperor on *Cerro de la Campana*, June 19, 1867, and the return of the remains to Austria on board the *Novara*.

Herr Corti has of course been obliged to use materials already made use of by various writers on this same period. The brief history of Mexico possesses but little merit, being largely a rehashing of old stuff, much of which is of questionable value historically. The author would have done well to omit this part of his work altogether for the barrage of prejudice which he creates in the mind, at least of the critical student, is very hard to overcome. The old materials in the other parts have been used, however, with judgment and discretion. The contribution which the author makes lies, therefore, in the intelligent use he has made of the new materials unearthed in the erstwhile secret archives of the Hapsburgers, as explained above.

Herr Corti gives a series of remarkable verbal portraits of the important characters in the drama which he unfolds. Emperor Franz Josef, King Leopold I., Queen Victoria, Queen Isabella II., and Pope Pius IX.; Thouvenel, Rechberg, Drouyn de Lhuys, Russell, Palmerston, Seward, Bismarck, and Cavour; Saligny, Metternich, Wyke, Bigelow, Campbell, Kint von Roodenbeck, Thun, Montholon, De Pont, and Cowley; Bazaine, Prim, Castelnau, Castagny, and d'Hérillier; and Almonte, Gutierrez de Estrada, Hidalgo, Eloin, Santa Anna (Ana), Labastida, Meglia, Fisher, Herzfeld, Salm-Salm, de León, Ramírez, and Basch: all stand out in bold relief. Especially illuminating are those of Gutierrez, Hidalgo, Almonte, Labastida, Meglia, Fisher, Metternich, and Eloin. But the greatest attention has been paid to the imperial *personae* of this great drama. Napoleon and Eugenie stand out as the real actors with Maximilian and Charlotte playing really minor rôles. Herr Corti has made the rulers of Mexico intensely human, laying bare to a degree their innermost thoughts, hopes, and ambitions. This he has been able to do by a copious yet judicious use of excerpts from their writings and by a keen analysis of their conduct and policies. To him Maximilian is the idealist *par excellence*, a dreamer of dreams. The following paragraph from the Foreword will serve to emphasize this point:

Kaiser Maximilian hörte nur die Stimme des Blutes seiner Ahnen, das heiz durch seine Adern rollte. In glühendem Ehrgeiz schuf sich seine Seele phantastische Traumbilder, utopisch und doch gross war die Idee, die er gefasst, deren Durchführung er gleichsam dilettantenhaft in Angriff nahm und allein schon durch seine Geburt, seine hohe Stellung in der Welt für möglich erachtete. So streckte er die Hand nach einer Krone aus, die nur im Reich der Illusionen denkbar war, so dachte er an Pläne, die jenseits aller Durchführbarkeit lagen. Nicht Eitelkeit und Ehrgeiz allein, auch edler Drang, dem Herrschenberuf seiner Ahnen dadurch zu genügen, dass einem unter Parteizwist und Bürgerkrieg leidenden Volke Glück, Frieden und Wohlstand gegeben würde, leitete ihn bei seinem Handeln.

Herr Corti gives large space of attention to the part played by the two empresses, showing the determining nature of the rôles played by them. Charlotte, possessed of great beauty of person, charm and grace of character, strong intellect, and an ambition of great bounds, played no small part in the course of the events of the period under consideration. In the great crises of the life of Maximilian she really forced the issue and shaped the final course of action. Instance the part which she played in deciding whether the offer of the Mexican

crown should be accepted, the decision to renounce the rights to the throne of the Hapsburgers, the subsequent decision to protest formally against the Family Compact, before the different courts of Europe, the decision not to abdicate, and finally in the matter of a special mission by herself to the court of Napoleon and of Pope Pius IX. in the summer and autumn of 1866. Her appeal to Maximilian as the sovereign and above all as the proud Hapsburger often aroused him to action which his better judgment would have deterred him from pursuing. The penalty which she paid was indeed a heavy one for it was not until January of last year that she died, having lived on in mental darkness for more than sixty years. To a degree the same indictment is made against the Empress Eugenia although she played a less determining rôle in the life of Napoleon III. than that played by the Empress Charlotte. It is indeed a fascinating story which the author has presented of these two remarkable women. One may not agree with his findings at all times, but one cannot deny him his art and power of narrating them.

Herr Corti has written his work in excellent, even brilliant German; and has enriched it by a liberal use of pictorial materials, such as photogravures, facsimiles of important documents, and a map. The map is of more than passing interest since it impresses the reader with the importance of the territorial or imperialistic ambitions of Maximilian. He hoped to see established in the New World two Hapsburg empires: one in Mexico, including Central America, with himself as ruler, another in Brazil with his brother Archduke Ludwig Victor as the ruler. In many ways, the best things that the author has done has been the incorporation in the two indexes (each volume has one) of original letters, or excerpts of letters and telegrams of great importance. These are in French. There is also a very good table of contents and an index. The printing and the binding are exceptionally well done, the binding especially which is in de luxe, blue and white, with the emperor's monogram on the cover of each volume. Herr Corti has made a distinct contribution to a field of Mexican history sorely in need of just such a work as this. *Americana* is measurably enriched by this study; and, what is more to the point, can be further enriched by studies of the materials for which have been made available in the archives of Austria. Herr Corti has done

excellent pioneering work, a fit challenge to the scholars of the United States in this same field.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

Diario da Navegação de Pero Lopes de Sousa (de 1530 a 1532). Comentado por EUGENIO DE CASTRO. . . . Prefacio de CAPISTRANO DE ABREU. . . . (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Leuzinger, 1927. 2 vols. Documents. Illus. Folding maps. Edition of 500 copies.

Pero Lopes de Souza was a younger brother of Martim Affonso de Souza, governor of India, who discovered Rio de Janeiro, and founded São Vicente (São Paulo), on his great voyage along the coast of Brazil in the years 1530-1532. Pero Lopes commanded one of the caravels that went on that famous expedition of exploration, fought successfully with French vessels, and sailed up the River Plate, considering it the southern boundary of Portuguese America, far beyond the confluence of the Rivers Paraná and Uruguay. He became one of the primitive *donatarios*, or feudal lords, who received immense grants of land in Brazil. Eighty leagues along the coast with the corresponding hinterland, half in the south (Capitania de Santo Amaro), and half in the north (Capitania de Itamaraca), were assigned to him.

The diary of his most important—we may consider it even basic—navigation, was found by Varnhagen in the Torre do Tombo, and first published with notes in 1839. It was reprinted in 1847, and then in 1861, in the *Revista do Instituto Historico de Rio de Janeiro*. A fourth and enlarged edition was made in 1927 in the collection “Eduardo Prado”, through which Eduardo Prado’s nephew, Paulo Prado, designed to commemorate the name and the literary achievements of the deceased scholar, one of the most intelligent writers of modern Brazil, who died in 1901, when scarcely over forty years old. The new edition is in two volumes, and has many maps and scientific commentaries of Commander Eugenio de Castro, of the Brazilian Navy. The latter spent several years collecting geographical and historical material for his work, which turned out to be a most valuable contribution to the annals of the early voyages in the new world. The volumes are well printed and have a good appearance.

MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA.

Catholic University of America.

Readings in Hispanic American History. By N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.
(Boston: Ginn and Co., 1927. Pp. xx, 791.)

This volume should be as welcome to the teachers of Hispanic American history as was the first text book covering their subject. The author has successfully accomplished his aim of "illuminating and enlivening" (p. v) our present text book narratives. Dr. James Alexander Robertson has aptly remarked at the conclusion of a brief Introduction (pp. xvii-xx): "It is not too much to say that this book of documents creates a new epoch in the study of Hispanic American history".

In a work of this nature the contents invariably display the views of the compiler; the personal factor cannot be excluded. Probably no other person given a similar task would have chosen the identical 142 quotations found here. The numerous considerations and difficulties of this type of work are little appreciated by the uninitiated. The fact that there is a superfluity of material from which to draw makes the task doubly hard. Consequently there will always be criticisms of such efforts. Some may feel that the selections are badly chosen, that the emphasis is irregular, that there are gaps which need filling, and that some quotations are misleading or distort the picture. But let him who can do better cast the first stone.

The subject matter of the book is grouped into four parts logically entitled: The Establishment of the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World, Hispanic American Wars of Emancipation, The Development of Nation States in Hispanic America, and International American Relations. Under each of the above captions are subheadings arranged topically and chronologically. Nine documents cover the pre-Columbian period, fifty the colonial period, fourteen the period of emancipation, forty-four the development of the four great states—(Argentina, six, Chile, four, Mexico, twenty-four, Brazil, ten)—and twenty-five Inter-American relations. It should be noted in passing, however, that only three documents (nos. 12, 18, 55), bear directly upon Portuguese America in the colonial and revolutionary periods, that is, before page 579.

The materials included consist of royal decrees and instructions, laws and decrees of legislative bodies, official and semiofficial reports, addresses, proclamations, declarations of independence, treaties, awards of arbitrators, diplomatic correspondence, memoirs, diaries,

letters, observations of travelers, etc. (p. v). Quotations are made with great care and with proper credit. Most explanatory material has purposely been made brief though it is abundantly sufficient. A helpful feature of the book is the glossary (pp. 755-763), consisting mainly of Spanish words and expressions with their English equivalents. The index (pp. 765-791), is detailed and satisfactory.

Now that the pioneer work has been done one or more supplementary volumes, omitting all duplication, may be more easily prepared. It is hoped that the reviewer will not be thought presumptuous if he makes a few suggestions as to the possible contents of a subsequent set of readings. With regard to pre-Columbian America certain quotations bearing on geographical subjects and on several native groups of the western hemisphere, other than the Aztecs and Incas here treated, might be added with benefit. In the colonial period documents could be readily used touching on the activities of Columbus (as, for example, the letter to Rafael Sanchez of March 14, 1493), of Prince Henry, of Ponce de León, of De Soto, of Coronado, of Quesada, of Alvarado, etc. Statements regarding the southern and northern mysteries should find a place. The occupation of Brazil and accounts of foreign aggression upon the colonies are worth consideration. There is much available documentary material of value covering social, intellectual, religious, political, and economic life of the colonies so that this period may be enlarged by many selections. For the revolutionary period Manning's *Diplomatic Correspondence* and other government documents supply much information in the nature of readings. Books of travel afford an inexhaustible mine for interesting material in this and the modern periods. Descriptive sketches of out-standing characters are always of high appeal to students and are available to the compiler. Documents for the recent modern period are so abundant that any selection would be imperfect and perhaps unsatisfactory. Yet certain materials dealing with pivotal events or times of crises, covering the states not mentioned here, may be found helpful. In the field of international relations the selection of documents is even more difficult though it is possible with careful selection to cover the field, particularly with the aid of collections of treaties, state papers, etc.

It is obvious that the task of compiling a set of readings adequately covering more than four hundred years of the history of twenty coun-

tries is almost too great for one man, and a satisfactory volume would reach unwieldy proportions. Before long, perhaps, other volumes will appear. If so, their authors will justly give thanks to Dr. Cleven for showing them the way.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

Roosevelt and the Caribbean. By HOWARD C. HILL. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. ix, 233. \$2.50, plus postage.)

Dr. Hill has made an important contribution to the history of American diplomacy. He has utilized the Roosevelt Papers in the Library of Congress to supplement a wide range of printed sources. The result is an authoritative statement of American objectives in the Caribbean in the first decade of the present century. Introductory chapters on The Passing of National Isolation and the Rise of Roosevelt are followed by estimates of the Roosevelt policy toward Panama, toward intervention in Cuba, toward the second Venezuelan incident, the collection of debts, and mediation in Central America. A reasoned estimate of Rooseveltian imperialism concludes the work. From it all Roosevelt emerges as a great figure but not quite the demigod portrayed by his Autobiography and by his faithful friends Thayer and Bishop.

A many-sided Roosevelt is indicated in the present pages. Toward Colombia he was contemptuous and harsh. In the opinion of Dr. Hill, nothing in the intercourse of Colombia and the United States between 1846 and 1902 justified the "Big Stick" methods Roosevelt employed. "Acting with a haste unparalleled in American history and unwarranted in international law", he created a serious menace to future good relations with Hispanic America. Toward Cuba, on the other hand, he assumed an attitude "which on the whole resembles that of a father who takes pride in the achievements of his child but who does not hesitate, if need arises, to admonish and discipline his offspring".

Venezuela presents the author with an interesting opportunity for historical criticism. This, the longest of his chapters, indicates that Germany was not the aggressive leader in 1902 that Roosevelt years later, in the heat of his war bias, depicted. Opposition to Venezuela was equally, if not chiefly, British. Germany was ready, as early as

December 17, 1902, to accept arbitration. In Dr. Hill's analysis the inference is unmistakable that Roosevelt's imperfect memory of the incident did not belittle his own participation. The Roosevelt-Thayer-Bishop account of the Von Holleben humiliation and the now famous orders to Admiral Dewey is shown to be inaccurate in numerous details. Furthermore, Dr. Hill points out—can he be malicious in this?—that the story in its accepted form was released for publication at a time when Roosevelt was receptive to third term influences.

The policy of Roosevelt toward debt collection in Santo Domingo is upheld as salutary and in its effects far reaching. "All in all", says Dr. Hill, "the Roosevelt policy and action in regard to the collection of debts involving nations was promotive of international amity and peace." It is asserted also that in Central America, while the Roosevelt policy inured to the advantage of American Big Business, it was not in any sense dictated by Big Business. The Roosevelt imperialism was political rather than economic and represented, in the author's summary, "a high type of opportunism."

One wishes that the author had more to say relative to the Roosevelt-Castro-Bowen dispute concerning the asphalt lakes. More light would have been welcome, also, on Secretary Root's precipitate withdrawal from the cabinet in January, 1909. There is seemingly a connection between Root's resignation and Roosevelt's persistent hostility toward the Colombia his secretary had recently endeavored to placate.

Roosevelt and the Caribbean should rank with *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*, by Dr. Tyler Dennett, as an application of the scientific method to a subject become already well nigh mythological. Of special interest to students of our Hispanic American relations is Dr. Hill's complete absence of sentimentality. To the reviewer that is a particularly refreshing aspect of the present work. Instead of proceeding according to specifications, with a major premise that in all our Hispanic American relations the United States are instinctively and perversely wrong, the writer adheres strictly to the scientific spirit, and, strangely enough, he finds that Roosevelt and his country were sometimes actually right.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

Duke University.

A History of American Foreign Relations. By LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.
(New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1927. Pp. xiii, 648.
Map.)

We have here an ample survey of our diplomatic history by a writer whose name is already familiar to specialists in this field. With a notable breadth of view and sense of proportion, Professor Sears has covered every aspect of our foreign relations, whether in Europe, Asia, or Hispanic America, and he has appended a bibliography arranged by chapters, a chronological table and a list of the secretaries of state that will be very useful to the student.

In a book that has so much to recommend it in other respects, the reviewer regrets to note deficiencies in the account of the relations of the United States with Hispanic America. In the first place, the writer is apparently not familiar with Spanish; witness such errors as "Don Galvez", "Don Peña y Peña" and "the Cortez" (for "the Cortes"). In the second place, the bibliography is inadequate, for it contains no reference to such works as W. S. Robertson's *Hispanic American Relations of the United States* and J. B. Lockey's *Pan-Americanism*, or to numerous valuable articles that have appeared in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, and not a single work in the Spanish language is cited in the bibliography. In the third place (and no doubt as a consequence of the foregoing), there are many inaccuracies in the text, and the account is incomplete. It is stated that the thirty-first parallel was the southern boundary of British West Florida (p. 46), that, in order to give Jay a free rein at London, Thomas Pinckney was transferred to Spain (p. 66), and that the treaty of San Lorenzo was signed within one day of Jay's treaty (p. 67). Again, it does not seem to the reviewer that the issue of the recognition of the Spanish American republics received the attention it deserved, and the recent policy of our government in relation to Central America, Mexico, and Tacna-Arica needs more searching analysis and more careful exposition than this book gives it. It is worthy of notice that, while the writer makes frequent references to the *Nation* (New York) in the period before 1914, he does not mention the illuminating articles on Hispanic America that have appeared in that journal these last few years. The estimate of Blaine is confusing, for we are told on p. 338 that Seward possessed "a creative intelligence not seen again till Hay", and yet we learn on p. 413 that Blaine

was "the most gifted Republican between Lincoln and Roosevelt"; and the account of Blaine's Hispanic American policy is a mass of amorphous detail.

It is hardly fair to expect a writer to follow current publications up to the minute that his own book goes to press; and yet we cannot regret that Professor Sears made so little use of *Die Grosse Politik* and Rippy's *The United States and Mexico*, and none at all of Bemis's *Pinckney's Treaty*, although the latter was published at the end of 1926 and Professor Sears' "Foreword" is dated May 14, 1927. Works of such capital importance would justify delaying the date of publication, if necessary, for it is scarcely worth while publishing what already requires rewriting. The story of German policy in the Spanish American War and the second Venezuela incident must be modified, and the notice of *Die Grosse Politik* (p. 459, note 8) is hardly adequate. One familiar with Professor Rippy's book cited above wonders at the bland reference to "the one-time cordiality of the early days of the Monroe Doctrine" (p. 405); and *Pinckney's Treaty* will necessitate several changes in the account of that subject.

In his "Foreword" Professor Sears stresses the importance of the point of view; but does his point of view in Hispanic American relations accord with the facts? He relates some striking instances of what he calls the "sordid" in diplomacy, but he records them with the idealist's reluctant pen. They do not fit into the picture. Yet there they are. The book contains a workmanlike account of the development of the Monroe Doctrine; but is it not time we were going behind the façade of speeches and messages and ascertaining the stakes of diplomacy? If for the word and the idea "sordid" we substitute "economic interest", we shall probably have a better chance of understanding our own policy towards our neighbors to the southward. The evolution of the Monroe Doctrine would be more comprehensible if we knew more of the true inwardness of Dollar Diplomacy. This knowledge, however, Professor Sears does not seem likely to give us, for at the very outset (pp. 20-21) he disposes of "the economic interpretation of history" to his own satisfaction. Thus prepared, the reader is not surprised when material interests appear but sporadically and as sordid incidents in the unfolding of our Hispanic American policy and when the writer fails to appreciate the significance of our enormous and rapidly increasing investments in Hispanic America.

Without subscribing to economic determinism, we can (and indeed we must) recognize the powerful, constant undertow of economic interest in our foreign relations.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

Vanderbilt University.

Antonio de Mendoza, first Viceroy of New Spain. By ARTHUR SCOTT AITON, Associate Professor of History in the University of Michigan. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. 240.)

By the extensive use of manuscript materials found in the Archivo General de Indias, Professor Aiton has proved conclusively that the "conquest of Mexico" did not end with the spectacular achievements of Cortés, but was carried to its full fruition by the judicious and painstaking administrative measures put into effect by the first viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza. "The heavy burden of expansion, completion, and re-casting fell largely on the Viceroy's shoulders and is, in the main, a sober story of institutional beginnings." So Professor Aiton tells it soberly and methodically, above all carefully and exactly, taking up each institution of the experiment in viceregal government, and solving from his study of widely scattered sources the problem of how each innovation came about and what portion of success or permanency it achieved in the administrative organization of New Spain.

This study is of necessity "preëminently institutional". The biography of the first viceroy has therefore been written in terms of "the social, political, and economic development of New Spain during his tenure of office". This is the thesis which Professor Aiton set himself. It is needless to say that his work has been well done.

The rest of the story of Antonio de Mendoza's life is compressed into a "Biographical Foreword" which occupies only the first fifteen pages of the book. Following this comes a chapter telling how the conditions in New Spain had demonstrated the necessity of superimposing a direct representative of the king upon the audiencia, and how Antonio de Mendoza was chosen for that post because he had not only the requisite prestige afforded by his noble blood, but because he had already shown that he possessed more than the average ability both as a statesman and as a soldier.

Chapter II. details the successive steps taken by the home government to reduce the power of Cortés, the final outcome of which was

the appointment of a viceroy. Additions and changes in the territorial limits of the viceroyalty of New Spain are then narrated. The most valuable part of this chapter, however, is Professor Aiton's discussion of the first viceroy's letter of instructions to his successor. This discussion is illuminated by certain incidents which occurred during the rule of Antonio de Mendoza, which revealed the reasons for his adoption of various expedients of government. These expedients later became permanent features of the Spanish colonial administration.

The next three chapters give considerable new information on the "Real Hacienda", "Social and Economic Progress", and "Exploration" under the first viceroy. The chapter on "Social and Economic Progress" discusses seriatim the development of the administrative institutions which were put into effect by Antonio de Mendoza and takes up the laws controlling the conduct of negro slaves, projects for the defense of Mexico City, and the treatment of the Indians. For these wards of the crown the viceroy endeavored to secure kindness and humanity, but hesitated to put the New Laws into full effect for he found it impossible to do so without arousing too great opposition from the Spanish settlers. In this attitude he was upheld by the audiencia.

This chapter also treats of the puritanical spirit of the times, the laws against gambling, the increase of business in the capital, the viceroy's assiduity in fostering trade by opening roads to Vera Cruz and to other distant parts of the realm, the administrative organization of the church, the founding of schools for Indian children, the introduction of the printing press and the publication of books, the development of industry and agriculture, including the importation of European plants, seeds, and selected stock for breeding purposes, and the development of silk culture. The viceroy's pet interest was the sheep industry for which he personally "set an example by introducing fine herds like the merino on his own ranches and by aiding wool cloth factories". The resulting prosperity necessitated increasing the quantity of currency in circulation, the founding of a mint, and the regulation of prices.

These chapters are followed by one on the Mixton War and the attempt of Cortés to discredit his successful rival by influencing against him the mind of the royal "visitor", Francisco Tello de

Sandoval. Probably the most valuable portion of the book is that devoted to "this first great general *visita* in America", the complete report of which was discovered by Professor Aiton in the Archivo General de Indias. The seventh chapter, dealing with "The Last Years of Antonio de Mendoza's Rule" is followed by a short "Conclusion", in which Professor Aiton sums up his impressions of the importance of the accomplishments of the great viceroy. Six other important conclusions reached by the author have been placed by him in the preface.

The footnotes add much to the value of this book. In them the author frequently quotes verbatim the portions of the text of the documents upon which he bases his statements. These of course are for the scholar; but for the ordinary reader other footnotes are freely used to clarify the text. The index is adequate. The frontispiece is an interesting portrait of Antonio de Mendoza, showing his signature and coat of arms. A clearly drawn map of the Mixton War is unfortunately placed in the middle of the book, so that it is difficult to consult except when reading the page which immediately faces it.

Professor Aiton's book is a distinct contribution to history. In style, arrangement, and scholarly thoroughness it is strongly reminiscent of Haring's *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs*. It will be prized by historians and students who are interested in the history of Spanish America and especially in its colonial institutions. Unfortunately it is not written in a style to attract the lay reader. It is so full of meat, that it cannot well be digested in a single reading, but students and teachers will find it well worth reading and rereading for its exposition of Spain's colonial institutions elsewhere as well as in New Spain.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Columbia University.

Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya. By J. LLOYD MECHAM, Associate Professor of Government in the University of Texas. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. xii, 265. \$3.50.)

"This book aims to remove a portion of" the evident deficiency in what the author terms the third period (1542-1600) in "the history of the Spanish conquest and colonization of New Spain in the sixteenth century". The region concerned is that of Nueva Vizcaya, the name

which the Spaniards of that day applied to a large part of what is today northwestern Mexico, and the story is built about Francisco de Ibarra, the first governor and central figure of the district. The key notes of the account are exploration, settlement, and early organization.

The first chapter is largely taken up with a treatment of the physiography of Nueva Vizcaya and its inhabitants before the entry of the Spaniards, though the first five pages are devoted to the genealogy and early life of Francisco de Ibarra. The next chapter is a review of the quarter century of expansion northwestward from Mexico City which ended about 1554, the events centering in Nueva Galicia. Then follow four chapters which describe in a most fascinating way the marvelous exploring expeditions and the early attempts at settlement. Finally, come three chapters on the conflicts which Nueva Vizcaya had with its neighbor Nueva Galicia on the south, on the "economic organization of Nueva Vizcaya", and on the "conclusion", followed by a bibliography and an index. There are also two useful maps.

The author has made excellent use of the original materials which he obtained by arduous labors in the *Archivo General de Indias*. The story is told in a simple and straightforward manner that makes for clarity. In fact, there is not a sentence in the book the meaning of which is obscure. Dr. Mecham's efforts on chapters three, four, five, and six were rewarded by the best results. Chapter eight is a noticeable digression from the main theme of the book. The subject treated here is not the "economic organization of Nueva Vizcaya", as one might expect, but the economic organization of New Spain or of Spanish America.

Readers are likely to wonder why such phrases and words as *tierra de guerra* (p. 43) and *ciudad* (p. 46) are italicized while such expressions as *juezes ordinarios* (p. 37), *buenas costumbres* (p. 107), and *vecinos* (p. 54) are not, as well as why the accent on the "e" in the Anglicized word *cédula* (p. 37) was retained. If a general rule has been followed, it is not evident, though it is exceedingly difficult to be entirely consistent in a work such as this.

These typographical errors were noted: "northeastern" for "northwestern" (p. 3); "one" for "on" (p. 53); omission of "t" in "mountains" (p. 180); omission of accent from second "e" in "Querétaro" (pp. 100 and 262) and from "a" in "Fernández" (p. 154).

This excellent study has fulfilled the aim of its author and students of Hispanic American history will look forward with pleasurable anticipation to the appearance of his promised volume on the founding of Nuevo León.

LAWRENCE F. HILL.

State University of Ohio.

José de Escandón and the Founding of Nuevo Santander, a Study in Spanish Colonization. By LAWRENCE FRANCIS HILL. (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1926. Pp. v, 149. Map. [Ohio State University Studies, Contributions in History and Political Science, Number 9].)

In this work Dr. Hill has contributed an additional volume to that series of studies on the development of the northern frontier of New Spain which is being made under the direction of Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. The material used has been largely drawn from the Bancroft Library: in fact the account itself is a reduced form of a longer manuscript prepared at the same place. The subtitle of the narrative, "a Study in Spanish Colonization", gives a clearer conception of the theme than does the title, for the reader is more vividly aware of the project of colonial advancement and conquest than he is of the figure of Escandón. The volume as a whole, however, is in the nature of a summary of both these aspects of the discussion; it is not a definitive treatment of either. Indeed, the author specifically states that it is not his intention to do more than indicate broad lines of development.

The first fifty-four pages of the narrative are devoted to purely preliminary material. A general introduction serves to mark the limits of the theme and reveal a brief glimpse of the situation as a whole. This is well done and useful since portions of the subsequent discussion are rather minute in detail. The subject having been thus launched, there follow two rather long chapters dealing with the nature of the territory in which the new colonial enterprise was to be attempted. Under the heading, "The Borderlands", the author discusses the provinces adjacent to Seno Mexicano, or Nueva León as it came to be called. These provinces were Pánuco, Sierra Gorda, Nueva León, Coahuila, and Texas. The achievements of the Spanish in the above regions prior to 1746 are treated, as well as the general con-

ditions which existed at that date. Nuevo Santander itself is the subject of the second of these introductory chapters. The new province, which originally included a very extensive territory, is fittingly described as to its physical, ethnographic, and economic factors. The chapter ends with a consideration of the motives which impelled Spain to renew efforts of conquest. Dr. Hill holds the latter to have been two-fold: first, the desire to protect the Spanish possessions in the Gulf of Mexico from the encroachments of England and France, and, second, the wish to centralize and strengthen New Spain from within by opening up new connections with outlying regions and by eliminating the menace of Indian raids from Seno Mexicano. For this and the preceding chapter, close study of the manuscript map of Nuevo Santander, reproduced in the volume, is advisable; but this map is even more valuable for tracing the course of the actual colonization of the province than for studying the border territory.

The remaining portions of the account are devoted to the inception and development of the project of colonization from 1746 to 1757, preparations for which had been made as early as 1738. To execute the project, José de Escandón was selected. He had already proved himself to be a soldier and executive of no mean ability in various expeditions against the Indians. He entered upon his new duties with characteristic energy and foresight. Early in 1747, a general investigation, consisting of seven distinct divisions, was launched into Seno Mexicano from as many points along the frontier, with the result that, within three months, practically the entire region was known to the Spaniards and locations had been selected for fourteen settlements.

The next two years were spent in carrying to completion the preparations necessary for the expedition. These included not only the assembling of material equipment but the investigation and careful selection of the colonists as well. So thoroughly was the preliminary work done that by the close of May of the following year twelve of the fourteen settlements planned had been established.

In 1757 an inspection of Neuvo Santander was made as the consequence of a change of viceroys in New Spain. The survey commission left a mass of statistical material through which Dr. Hill has carefully worked his way, considering the condition, resources, etc., of each settlement in turn. The evidence thus presented reveals the slow but steady progress of the province, which within the decade had

increased to twenty-four settlements. The commission made several recommendations regarding military reorganization, economic development, etc., but no discussion of their effect upon the province is given by Dr. Hill, as he has chosen the survey of 1757 as the closing event of his study.

All the manuscript material used in the study consists of transcripts from the Archivo General y Público of Mexico, which are found in the Bancroft Library—in all, some seven thousand sheets. In addition to these, the bibliography contains a satisfying list of English and Spanish printed materials. But Dr. Hill has apparently made no use of the material available in the Edward E. Ayer Library (located at the Newberry Library in Chicago) which contains one hundred and eighty thousand sheets of transcripts from the Spanish Archives at Seville, Simancas, and Madrid, as well as a large amount of similar material from the Archives of Mexico. In this collection there are several hundred sheets concerning Escandón and the founding of Nuevo Santander and an equal number of uncalendared sheets concerning colonization in New Spain during the period under consideration. In spite of this sin of omission, Dr. Hill has sifted out a mass of difficult documents and from them produced a clear, concise, and scholarly narrative which contains much valuable information.

KATHRYN TRIMMER ABBEY.

Florida State College for Women.

Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico. The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin. Edited by STELLA M. DRUMM. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926. Pp. xxv, 294. Illus. Map. \$4.00.)

The granddaughter of the famous Kentucky governor, Colonel Isaac Shelby, married a trader named Samuel Magoffin in November, 1845, at the early age of eighteen, and made with him, after a winter in eastern cities a trading expedition to Santa Fe and into Mexico. She kept a diary from the time of her marriage until the expedition reached its end. This is divided into two parts, the first relating to the experience of the bride in the east, and the second to the western journey. In editing the diary, Miss Drumm has wisely disregarded the first part. The second part covers the period from June, 1846 to September 8, 1847, and is complete except for a few pages at the end, which were lost. It portrays the experiences of this young gentlewoman into alien territory during actual wartime

The expedition was much more than a mere trading journey. The brothers James and Samuel Magoffin had been in partnership for some years and annually carried goods by wagon into Mexican territory. On this occasion

James was really on a secret mission for the United States, it being hoped that he would be able to pave the way for General Kearny to enter Santa Fé and gain possession of New Mexico without bloodshed (p. xii).

The diary of the western journey opens shortly after leaving Independence, Missouri, and continues with some breaks in time to the arrival and departure from Chihuahua. It is written with a spontaneity and naturalness that are charming, often naïve, and never dull; and the misspelled words and the phonetic Spanish phrases do not mar the story. Mrs. Magoffin had "nerve" and was always interested and observant; and although suffering from illness much of the time, never complaining. Of a deeply religious nature, she was sometimes troubled for the welfare of her soul, and the trading on Sunday which could hardly be obviated, was a source of discomfort. She discovered to her horror the profanity of mule drivers, but was always alive to the beauties of nature and rejoiced to be on the road rather than shut up in town. She was quite vain of the Spanish that she acquired on the journey which she probably talked a great deal better than she wrote. The diary bristles with good descriptions, both of country and people, and she throws many interesting sidelights on the Mexican people and their social status. She was able to distinguish and appreciate the good qualities of all classes from the peon to the highest in culture and breeding. The real crisis in the period covered came with the arrest by Mexicans of James, who had preceded the caravan, and his reported execution. Mrs. Magoffin came in contact with many of the American officers, including "Old Rough and Ready" and General Kearny. Her diary becomes a part of the Mexican War literature.

In giving this diary to the public, Miss Drumm has done an excellent piece of editing, annotating judiciously, and explaining the garbled Spanish that Mrs. Magoffin wrote. There is a good introduction and a short appendix relating to the mission entrusted to James Magoffin. The map is a reproduction of the one showing the route of Colonel A. W. Doniphan (with whom the expedition traveled for some time) through New Mexico. There is also a bibliography of primary

and secondary sources. The mechanical part of the work is well done and the book has a pleasing appearance.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Ácoma, the Sky City: a Study in Pueblo-Indian History and Civilization. By MRS. WILLIAM T. SEDGWICK. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. Pp. xiv, 318. Illus. \$4.00.)

This is the second impression of this volume, the first having been brought out in 1926. It is

an attempt . . . to bring together, and put into a form for the general reader, the story of that pueblo of the Keres people known as Ácoma, so far as yet discovered in the records of the Spanish diarists and in those of more recent writers.

The work is divided into three sections: an introduction of two chapters, which is largely descriptive; a history of seven chapters; and legends and social organization of nine chapters. In the second section, the seven chapters discuss: first expedition from New Spain; the battle in the Sky City; Ácoma rebuilt; Father Ramírez at Ácoma; Ácoma in the Pueblo revolt; the wonder-working San José; and Ácoma and the federal government. In these chapters, the contact of the inhabitants of Ácoma with the Spaniards is briefly recounted, and the story is continued to our own times and the contact of the United States with these interesting people. The narrative is sympathetically written, and adds one more chapter to the injustice of the white toward the red race. The author has educed a great deal of interesting material, brought together from many sources, as well as from personal observation, and she has given ample citations. The characteristics of the amazing Pueblo Indians, the forces that move them, and their social and religious life—as much as the author has been able to ascertain—are set down and elucidated. The result is a work which will appeal to the layman, but should not be disregarded by the historian and scientist. There is nothing new in the historical part, but the record of events has been carefully brought together and its continuity shown. There is an excellent bibliographical list and an index.

Travel and Adventure in many Lands. By CECIL GOSLING. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. [c1926]. Pp. [10], 403. Illus. \$3.50.)

The author of this entertaining and popularly written book describes himself as a “minor official in the employment of the Foreign

Office [of Great Britain]’’. His most important post was that of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Bolivia. As his father was also in the diplomatic service, Cecil Gosling had the advantage and disadvantages of residence in many European countries and in Guatemala before embarking on his own career; and his education was scrappy in consequence thereof. From Guatemala he beat a hasty retreat to England because of having killed a man in self defense. He soon enlisted in the Bechuanaland Border Police, and after serving through the Matabele campaign, returned to Central America as head of the mint at San Salvador, where he suffered an attack of yellow fever. Upon leaving this post he returned to England for a short time, but was soon sent to Havana as vice consul where he lived during Spain’s last years there. In 1899, at the age of twenty-nine, he was offered and accepted the post of consul to Paraguay, becoming the youngest consul in the British service. With his work in Paraguay began the real interest of his life so far as his experiences in Hispanic America are concerned.

Beginning with chapter XIV., the rest of his volume deals with South America—Paraguay, Bolivia, Argentina, and Peru, and forms by far the best part of the book. In his official capacity or during holidays, Gosling traveled over considerable of the continent, penetrating into districts seldom visited by strangers. He obtained a first-hand acquaintance with Paraguay, including part of the mysterious Chaco, rode across the Andes, and saw much of Peru and Bolivia. He was of an inquiring mind and seems to have been happiest when off on horseback in the wilds exploring or hunting. His investigation of the so-called “rubber ring” was performed in his official capacity, and other arduous journeys were also taken. His narrative contains many good descriptions and bits of useful knowledge. He was much interested in the people of the various districts, and his conclusion on the people of South America (p. 398) is worth quoting:

During the period of my life which is described in these pages, I learnt to know more of the countries of Latin America than falls to the lot of most Europeans, and I learnt as well to know the Spanish-American people, not merely the dwellers in the large towns, but the country folk, who are, to my mind, far more interesting. They have their faults, no doubt, as other people have, but manliness, courage, and chivalry are qualities which are not uncommonly found among them, and these to my mind, may compensate for the lack of other virtues.

Notwithstanding the tendency of the author to be loquacious at times, the book is worth reading and might even be placed on the list of required readings for class work, because of the insight it gives into remote regions of South American countries; and because it will help create a broader background.

Adventures in Peru. By CECIL HERBERT PRODGERS. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1925. Pp. xviii, 250. Illus. \$4.00.)

The author of *Adventures in Peru*, a companion piece to *Adventures in Bolivia* (1922), died while it was passing through the press. The son of an English squire, he had been all his life an out-doors man. Ending his formal book learning at the age of nineteen, he spent many years in South Africa, where he played many parts, including farming, diamond mining, and storekeeping, and served through the Boer war. Leaving Africa he went to South America where he kept up his adventurous career. Above all a worker, and not ashamed of his work, he engaged there in many ventures, extending from railway construction to the training of race horses and the operations of stock broker. A breezy biographical sketch written by Charles J. Maberly, notes his love for Peru, the honesty of his character, the fairness of his contacts, and his fearlessness; and states somewhat prematurely "there is no doubt that the amicable settlement of the Arica dispute between Peru and Chile, was due largely to the beneficent influence he was able to exert". So much for the author. His book, written in a rambling, unconventional, chatty style, often lacking in unity, is full of interest, and one will find in it many things not found elsewhere. It is for the most part a personal narrative, and only occasionally does the author feel called on to depart from the immediate present—as when, for instance, he says something of the Incas. It is throughout an entertaining book and the historian will find it worth while to forget formal histories for an hour or so and enjoy it; after which he will discover that he has laid in some very useful background material. Unfortunately the volume has no index.

NOTES AND COMMENT

In the *Gaceta* of Madrid, of August 19, 1927, appeared a royal order (No. 1,068) restricting copying and investigation in Spanish archives. The order, following a long preamble, is as follows:

His Majesty, the king (whom may God preserve), has been pleased to order:

1. That the obtaining of copies and photocopies in series, of documents existing in the archives or any other office or institution of the state is absolutely prohibited. These shall be granted in exceptional cases only and by royal order.

2. That permission shall be granted to obtain copies or photocopies of a stated document or of part of the same only after a petition referring to it shall have been presented, in which the petitioner shall state clearly the part of the document (already investigated) which is to be photocopied; and this shall be granted and immediate report made to the superior government.

3. That the respective articles of the archival regulations in force, by which a copy of the reproduction is exacted shall be understood to be interpreted in accordance with the preceding numbers, whatever be the process employed, and such reproduction shall be kept in its proper office.

4. That the chiefs of the archives, offices, or institutions of the state herein treated shall be responsible for the strictest execution of the preceding regulations.

The order was issued, as appears from the preamble, because some reactionary official of the government feared lest Spain be virtually denuded of its archival assets through the photocopying (photostatting) of documents in series, and the transfer of the facsimiles to foreign countries—a process it was urged that would make unnecessary the visits of foreign scholars to Spain for archival study. This is a very shortsighted view, for no scholar who is able to go to Spain for study in the archives will forego that pleasure. Furthermore, with a facsimile of the documents in which he is interested, the scholar is not dependent on the interpretation of a copyist who may make errors or omit essential words or phrases. Spain in the long run has only to gain by allowing the fullest and freest investigation and copying of its documents, especially at the present time, when so much that is highly favorable to Spanish colonial methods is being published; and when Spain is gaining so many friends among those who use its documents. Indeed, it would not be a bad idea for the government to install its own reproducing machines and so aid scholars the better in their quest. Spain has hitherto been one of the most

generous of countries in its aid to scholars of foreign countries who wish to use its documentary treasures. It is to be hoped that this reactionary measure will be of short duration. It is understood that the order is being very strictly enforced in the Archivo General de Indias.

Students of Hispanic-American history will be glad to learn that the various collections of foreign transcripts, especially British, French, and Spanish, in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, are in process of being arranged, according to source-archival order (as far as possible), and listed and calendared and indexed. This work is intended to minimize the risk of duplication and to facilitate further research and copying abroad as well as to promote ready-reference and reading at home. In addition to manuscripts, the Library of Congress has acquired, especially during the last two decades, many thousands of pages of transcripts and photostats of important documents, letters, and papers in foreign archives relating to American history; and it is expected that scholars will soon be able to appreciate and to make full use of the vast stores of information which have been accumulated in this way in this country. This work is being done under direction of Dr. T. P. Martin.

In 1926, the William L. Clements Library, of the University of Michigan, authorized Professor Louis C. Karpinsky of the above university to obtain photographs of all the manuscript maps in the French archives relating to the American Revolution. The project was later enlarged to cover all manuscript maps in official French archives relating to the present area of the United States and Alaska. Still later, owing to the participation of the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library, and the Ayer Collection, the project was again enlarged and made to include reproductions of manuscript maps in Spain and Portugal. The result was several hundreds of maps from France, and about two hundred from Spain, including some from the private library of the Duke of Alba. A number of portulan charts were reproduced from the originals belonging to the Duchess of Palmella in Portugal. In addition to the five libraries mentioned above, the complete series of reproductions from French archives is in the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library, the John Carter Brown Library, Har-

vard University, the University of Illinois, the Western Reserve Historical Society, the Cleveland Public Library, the Indiana Historical Society, the University of Minnesota, the Grosvenor Library in Buffalo, and Dartmouth College Library. The maps relating to the American Revolution are also available at the Boston Public Library; those relating to New York, at the New York State Library; and those relating to Florida have been acquired by the Florida State Historical Society. Other libraries desirous of obtaining these maps in whole or in part may do so by writing to Professor Karpinsky.

Brazil's pavilion at the exposition to be held in Seville will occupy a space of 4,400 square meters, 1,600 of which will be given over to palm gardens and tropical plants. Brazil first proposed to appropriate 4,000,000 pesetas to meet the expenses of its exhibits, but this amount was later cut in half. However, several of the Brazilian states have also made appropriations, so that the total appropriation will be considerably above that of the federal government. Among exhibits will be the fine woods of Brazil and industrial textiles, the latter being late developments of the state of São Paulo. Paraná will probably exhibit various qualities of the *yerba maté*.

Some six months or so ago, a group of communists went to the island of Juan Fernández with the intention of putting their theories into practice. The colonists were accompanied by their families and the government furnished houses, tools, and other necessary materials. It is reported that these people are now requesting that they be returned to the mainland.

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, executive secretary of the American section of the Committee on Coöperation in Latin America, has recently returned from Mexico, where he gave a series of lectures on international relations at the National University. The lectures were open to the public, attendance including students and professors as well as representatives of the diplomatic corps in Mexico City. At the close of the lectures Dr. Inman assisted the Rector of the University in organizing a Round Table somewhat after the Williamstown Conference idea, which discussed for a week with great profit Mexican-American questions. Of the university and of the trend of education in Mexico, Dr. Inman reports:

The University of Mexico with its dozen different faculties is a strong institution, having something like seven thousand students. It is very closely connected with the ministry of education which has under its direction a whole new social program. The educational and social forces are more closely combined in Mexico than any other country he knows. The rector of the university was formerly a practicing physician and as an expert in public health keeps in very close contact with all of the social and educational problems of the Federal District. Open-air schools are one of the new ventures in education. From seven hundred to a thousand children meet daily in each of these schools. One near Chapultepec Park uses that park for a number of its classes. It is interesting to see that not only the children but the common people in general are now encouraged to use this beautiful park which a few years ago was reserved for the rich. A school in "La Bolsa", the tenement district of Mexico City, is organized in a way that calls upon the pupils for leadership. A miniature city council conducts the school. The department of the bakery has its officials, sells its products to the neighborhood and keeps its accounts in the school bank. So do the departments of photography, of gardening, of dress-making, of stenography, and others. A more interesting educational experiment will not be found anywhere in the world. It is now, however, ceasing to be an experiment since it has a successful existence over a period of five years with little financial help. There are six educational commissions each consisting of six or eight experts who are holding institutes out in the small cities in different parts of the Republic. They gather together some seventy-five or a hundred rural teachers and spend three weeks with them, giving them instruction in playground work, hygiene, agriculture, and pedagogical work. About a thousand new rural schools are being organized every year and public schools have for the first time enrolled over a million pupils.

La Prensa of New York is offering prizes aggregating \$3,500.00, in a competition by essay form showing excellence in Spanish studies. The competition is to be conducted under the auspices of *La Prensa* and the American Institution of Teachers of Spanish. Five groups will be embraced as follows:

I. Students in secondary schools (public and private); II. Students in colleges; III. Students in colleges and universities seeking an A.M. degree in Romance languages; IV. Candidates for the degree of Ph.D. in Romance languages; V. Teachers of Spanish in secondary schools.

The general conditions governing the contest are as follows:

1. All essays submitted must be accompanied by certification of the immediate educational superior of the candidate, to the effect that the essay presented is the individual and original work of the candidate. This certification must be enclosed in the envelope containing the author's real name and address.

2. All essays in Groups I and II must be written in Spanish. Essays in Groups III, IV and V will be accepted in English or Spanish, and essays of all groups must be the original composition of the candidate. Dictionaries, grammars, encyclopedias, etc., may be freely consulted during the preparation of the essay.

3. No person competing in one group may compete in another.
4. All manuscripts should be typewritten, double-spaced, or written very clearly with equivalent spacing.
5. No student whose native language is Spanish, or who speaks or hears Spanish in his home, may compete in Groups I and II.

The more specific conditions are as follows:

GROUP I.—Topics for essays must be chosen from a list to be printed in *La Prensa*. This list will appear in the issue of December 15, 1927, and will be reprinted once a month thereafter. An extensive bibliography for each of the topics will be printed in *La Prensa*, accompanied by detailed suggestions. Length of essay, approximately 600 words. Certification to be made as in paragraph 1 of general conditions of the contest. A list of bibliography used by the student in writing his essay must be attached. Age limit of contestant, 19 years.

GROUP II.—Topics for essays may be chosen from a list to be printed in *La Prensa*, December 15, which list will be reprinted once each month thereafter, or a student may select his own topic. An extensive bibliography for a number of the topics will be printed in *La Prensa* accompanied by detailed suggestions. Length of essay, approximately, 1500 words. Certification to be made as in paragraph 1 of general conditions of the contest. A list of bibliography used by the student in writing his essay must be given. Essays will be rejected that lack this bibliography.

GROUP III.—There will be no limitation as to number of words. The essay must be that presented in the 1927-28 scholastic year as a thesis by a candidate for the degree of A.M. in the department of Romance Languages or department of Spanish, and his topic must have reference to the Spanish language, literature, or similar topics in relation to Spain or Spanish America in general, or any one country of Spanish America. Certification to be made by the head of the department of Spanish of the college or a professor acting in that capacity.

GROUP IV.—There will be no limitation as to number of words. The essay or book must be that presented in the 1927-28 scholastic year as a thesis by a candidate for the degree of Ph.D., in the department of Romance Languages or department of Spanish, and accepted by such a Department, and his topic must have reference to the Spanish language, literature, or similar topics in relation to Spain or Spanish America in general or any one country of Spanish America. Certification to be made as in Group III. No prize will be awarded in this group unless at least four essays are submitted.

GROUP V.—There will be no limitation as to number of words, but the topic must be a pedagogical one concerned with the teaching of Spanish in secondary schools. Certification must be made by the principal of the school, or by the Superintendent of schools in the city or town in which the teacher is employed. Subjects will be suggested in *La Prensa*, but not prescribed.

Additional information can be obtained by addressing *La Prensa*, 245 Canal St., New York City.

The Patronato de las Bibliotecas Populares Hispano-Americanas, located at Plaza de la Villa, 2, Madrid, has the following officers:

president, Professor Rafael Altamira, Spanish representative at The Hague Court; vice-presidents, José Franco Rodríguez (president of the Asociación de la Prensa), Carlos Estrada (Argentinian ambassador), Mario García Kholy (Cuban ambassador), Ignacio Bauer (president of the Colegio de Doctores of Madrid), ex-Minister Antonio Goicoechea, Conde de Jordana (director general of Morocco and the colonies), Elías Tormo (president of Consejo de Instrucción Pública), and Francisco Carrillo Guerrero (inspector in chief of primary education); secretary general, Manuel de Ortega, of the Academy of History; vice-secretary general, Agustín Aguilar y Tejera, of the Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras; treasurer, Emilio Zurano Muñoz, ex-president of the Círculo Mercantil of Madrid. Among the membership are many well known public men, and all the ministers plenipotentiary accredited to Spain from Hispanic American countries.

Dr. Ramiro Guerra has been appointed professor in the National University in Cuba and will lecture on "Introduction to the Study of Spanish Colonization in Cuba", and "The History of Cuba".

Professor N. Andrew N. Clevén, of the University of Pittsburgh, has been appointed a member of the board of associates of *Current History*, and will cover the countries of South America. Dr. Charles W. Hackett covers Mexico and Central America for the same review. Each member of the board contributes material monthly concerning the most important developments and occurrences in his region for the preceding month.

A story has appeared in the press of Hispanic America recently to the effect that Columbus was a Portuguese and that his real name was Salvador Gonçalves Zarco. The proof brought forward is as fantastic as any that has figured in the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

CENTRAL AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL OUTPUT FOR 1922

[The following excellent review of the bibliographical output of Central America for 1922 was compiled for publication in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, and was to have appeared in the number for February, 1923. Unfortunately, that number was never published. The compilation has, however, a permanent interest and is for that reason published in the present number of the REVIEW.—Ed.]

Among the valuable booklets published by the library "Repertorio Americano", and edited in San José de Costa Rica by Joaquín García Monge, are the following: *El Cántaro Fresco*, by the Uruguayan Juana de Ibarbourou; *Madre*, by the Colombian, Samuel Velásquez; *Discursos*, by the Cuban, Mariano Aramburo Machado; *Cesarismo Teocrático*, by Cornelio Hispano; the *Discurso en el Congreso de Angostura*, by Bolívar; the *Escritos de José Ignacio Escobar*; the prose poems *Iola*, by Luis López de Mesa; *Recogimiento*, by Rogelio Sotela; *La Personalidad de Ventura García Calderón*, by Napoleón Pacheco (although its date is 1921); *Walt Whitman*, by Arturo Torres Ríosco; *Tú y Yo*, by Paul Geraldry; and *Para los Gorriones*, by Rubén Coto. The "Ediciones Centro-Americanas" has published: *Una Vida en el Cine*, and *El Buitre que se tornó Calandria*, both by Alberto Masferrer.

Parábolas de Guyau, edited by Juan Ramón Uriarte, have been an editorial success. Uriarte is the author of *Fórgate! Sugestiones Normativas a los Jóvenes*, the second edition appearing as a supplement in the Argentinian magazine *Nuestra América*. *Pequeño Ideario*, by Ganivet, an anthology of Elías Jiménez Rojas, was published by "Ediciones Renovación" of San José.

Short-stories and novels worthy of mention are: *El Evangelio del Amor* (Editorial Mundo Latino, Madrid), by Enrique Gómez Carrillo; *Manuel Aldano (La Lucha por la Vida)* by Rafael Arévalo Martínez (Ediciones Gutenberg, Guatemala); and *La Comendianta*, by Carlos Gustavo Martínez, edited by the weekly paper *El Universal Ilustrado* of Mexico City. "El Corazon de los Hombres" and "Los Tatuados" complete the first volume of the plays of Dr. José Llerena, Jr., of San Salvador.

Among literary works we have: *El Ruiseñor Oriental*, by Armando Rodríguez Portillo (Imprenta Nacional, San Salvador); *Melancolía Serena*, by Juan Ulloa C. (*idem.*); *El Soldado Desconocido*, poems by Salomón de la Selva (Editorial "Cultura", México, D. F.); *Canto a México*, by Eduardo Carrasquilla-Mallarino, published in Managua by Juan B. Delgado; *Versos* by Manuel Zúñiga Idiáquez, with

preface by Santiago Argüello (Imprenta Nacional, Tegucigalpa); *Fuegos Fatuos*, by Juan Rafael Guerra (Tipografía de Mayorga y Venerio, León, Nicaragua); *Bajo El Sol de México*, journey notes by Leonardo Montalbán (Imprenta Minerva, San José); *Palabras del Camino*, articles and speeches by Andrés M. Zúñiga; *Pluma y Verso*, articles of Pedro Pablo Moreno, of San Salvador; *Rebeldías*, by José V. Vásquez, now residing in Guatemala; and *Sol de Exilio*, by Carlos A. Renderos (Tipografía "El Alba", Sonsonate). The Casa Sopena, Barcelona, has edited *Los Mejores Cuentos Salvadoreños*, compiled by Salvador Erazo; and the Casa Maucci, of the same city, *Poesías Escogidas* of Raúl Contreras. Mr. J. William Chaney has written a paper on the poet Juan Ramón Molina (Colorado College Publication No. 35), and Miss Paula Landrum Sage, one entitled "Spanish American Poets. Rafael García Escobar (St. Louis, Mo.). Special reference is made to a paper of importance for folklore students, namely, "Regionales", by Anselmo Fletes Bolaños (Tipografía y Encuadernación Nacionales, Managua) in which are collected Nicaraguan songs and provincialisms.

The principal textbooks of the year are: *Leer y Escribir*, by Alberto Masferrer (edited by the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública de Honduras, Imprenta Nacional); *Enseñanza Simultánea de la Lectura y Escritura*, by the Chilean professor, Dr. Manuel Soto, former superintendent of public education in Honduras (Tipo-Litografía y Fotogrado Nacionales, Tegucigalpa); *Geografía Descriptiva de la República de Guatemala*, by General Víctor Mejía (Sánchez & De Guise, Guatemala); *Elementos de Química Inorgánica*, by Carlos Conrado Bonilla (D. Appleton & Co., New York City); *Insinuaciones acerca de las Reformas en la Enseñanza Primaria*, by Arturo Juárez Castañeda (San Salvador); *A. B. C. del Fogonero y Maquinistas de Vapor*, by Buenaventura Matus (Santa Tecla, El Salvador); *Manual de los Boys Scouts Hondureños* (with preface by Luis Landa), by Raúl Zaldívar (Imprenta Nacional, Tegucigalpa); *Lecturas Geográficas*, series II, *Geografía Patria*, by Dr. Miguel Obregón L. (Almacén Escolar, San José); *Consejos Prácticos de Higiene Infantil*, by Dr. José Jorge Callejas (Imprenta Nacional, Tegucigalpa); and *Elementos de Literatura Jurídica Española*, lessons given by Dr. Manuel Castro Ramírez at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria Profesional de San Salvador (taken from "*Historia de la Legislación Española*", by José María Antequera) and published in *Diario Latino* (beginning with the issue for September sixth. Castro Ramírez has published also his "*Lecciones de Lógica Judicial*" (Imp. "La República", San Salvador) and Dr. José Matos, of Guatemala, is the author of a recently published book on International Law. Doña Concha Vda. de Azurdia has edited her "*Cocina Práctica Guatemalteca*" (Tipografía Sánchez & De Guise).

Among scientific papers, we may mention: *The Miocene of Northern Costa Rica; with notes on its Stratigraphic Relations*, by Axel A. Alsson (Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.); "New Plants from Guatemala and Honduras", by S. F. Blake (Proceedings of the U. S. National Herbarium, XXIV. part I, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, Government Printing Office); "Tertiary fossil plants from Costa Rica", by Edward W. Berry (Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum, LIX., Washington, D. C.); "Tripanosomiasis en El Salvador" a paper read at the Sixth American Medical Congress by Dr. Juan C. Segovia; and two papers by Dr. Salvador Peralta L., namely, "Contribución al Estudio de la Mi-

cosis en El Salvador'' and ''Incremento del Tracoma entre los Naturales de la República de El Salvador'', were published by the Imprenta Nacional of San Salvador. In No. 8 of the Liceo de Costa Rica publications, Clodomiro Picado and Vicente Elías give their notes on the use of manganese as a fertilizer. Dr. Ramón Rivera Bautista has written on *El Suero Antidiftérico en la Parotiditis Epidémica*. Dr. Francisco Peña Trejo has printed his paper *Comentario sobre el Descubrimiento de la Anquilostomiasis en El Salvador*, in which he discusses certain theories of Dr. Carlos Z. García and Dr. Herman Prowe. In popular bulletin No. 15 of the Ministerio de Agricultura of Guatemala (Casa Colorada de Marroquín Hermanos), is published a paper by José María Arias G., entitled ''La Plaga de las Garrapatas. Daños que causa y manera de combatirlas''. The Observatorio Nacional of San Salvador has published the *Almanaque Salvadoreño para 1923*. The German professor Dr. Fuellborn gave at the Sociedad de Estudiantes Universitarios of Guatemala a lecture on the ''Ankilostomun duodenalis'', in which he gave some idea of his investigations on Tropical American diseases.

The following are those pamphlets and monographs which are of interest to students of the history, politics, and finance of Central America: *Datos para la Economía Social Salvadoreña*, by Alirio Augusto Castro (Tip. ''La Unión'', San Salvador); *Contrato del Empréstito entre la República de El Salvador y Minor Keith* (June 24), published in San Salvador in Spanish and English; *Documentos relativos a las Reclamaciones del Royal Bank of Canada y de John M. Armory & Son, Amparadas por el Gobierno de Su Magestad Británica y presentadas al Gobierno por la Legación Británica acreditada en la República* (Ministerio de Relaciones, Imprenta Nacional, San José); *Empréstitos* by Pedro Amézquita, Guatemala; *Política Hacendaria y la Caja de Conversión*, by Tomás Soley Güell, secretary of the treasury of Costa Rica; *La Cuestión Económica. Iniciativa del Representante Rafael Montúfar* (Tip. Sánchez & De Guise); *Estudio relativo al Punto XI del Programa de los Trabajos de la Quinta Conferencia Panamericana, que se reunirá en Santiago en marzo 1923*, by Dr. Juan Francisco Paredes, former secretary of state (Tip. ''La Unión'', San Salvador); *Refutación (Carta Abierta sobre los últimos Sucesos de Guatemala)*, by José Rodríguez Cerna, addressed to Jacinto López in answer to his pamphlet *La Tracción en Guatemala*, published in New York City, and articles from *Diario del Salvador* and by Eduardo Aguirre Velásquez (Tipografía Nacional, Guatemala); *¿Es constitucional el Impuesto directo sobre la Renta establecido en El Salvador?* by Dr. Humberto Equizábal y Morán; *Sangre y Luto* (Tipografía Latina, Guatemala); *La Intromisión Norteamericana en Centro América*, by Enrique Gay Calbó (Imprenta ''Siglo X X'', La Habana), a reprint from *Cuba Contemporánea*; *Apuntes para la Historia de Costa Rica*, by Antonio Giófaló Güell, concerning the events from 1918 to 1921; *Estos mis Paisanos*, historical anecdotes, by General Ramón Aceña I.; *La Odissea del Istmo*, political articles by Alfonso Cortés, Guatemala; *Cartas a Morazán*, by Vicente Sáenz (Tip. Nacional, Tegucigalpa); *El Libro de las Entrevistas*, by Federico Hernández de León; *El Evangelio y el Syllabus y un Dualismo Imposible* (publication of the Partido Liberal of Guatemala) by Dr. Lorenzo Montúfar; *La América Central ante la Historia*, vol. II., by Dr. Antonio Batres Jáuregui (Sánchez & De Guise); new edition of *Elementos de Historia de Costa Rica*, by Francisco Montero Barrantes; *Vida Militar en Centro-América*, vol. II., by Gen-

eral Pedro Zamora Castellanos (Manuel Cabral, Guatemala); *Defensa presentada ante el Tribunal Militar por el Lic. Alejandro Ch. Suazo en el Proceso seguido para averiguar la muerte del Señor don José Víctor Monroy*; and *Alegato de defensa formulado por el licenciado don Lisandro de León Manrique en representación de don Manuel Estrada C., en el proceso seguido para averiguar las responsabilidades a que pudiera haber dado lugar la muerte violenta de don José Coronado Aguilar*. Theodoro Picardo, Jr., has written concerning the origins of the National War of Central America, which are of considerable importance for the diplomatic annals of those countries.

Important literary reviews of Central America were the following: In Guatemala—*Los Ensayos Políticos y Literarios*, editor, Enrique Azmitia (March, No. 38); *Cultura*, of the Sociedad de Derecho (August, No. 2); *Studium*, of the Asociación de Estudiantes Universitarios, editor Arturo Peralta A. (June, Nos. 9 and 10); *El Quetzal Ilustrado*, editor, Enrique de Kératry (October, No. 1). In El Salvador—*Espiral*, editors, Enrique Lardé and Miguel Angel Chacón (October, No. 12); *Repertorio del Diario del Salvador*, editor Román Mayorga Rivas (March, third epoch, Vol. I., No. 7); *Atlacatl*, editor, Abraham Ramírez Peña (September, II, No. 1); *La Montaña*, of the High School of San Salvador; *Mundo Ilustrado*, editor, José B. Funes; *Mosaico*, of David Cornjeo; *Revista de Revistas*, of J. Humberto Belloso; *La Pluma*, editor, S. Samayoa Palacios (IV. epoch, No. 2); *Los Sucesos*, of Virgilio Pinel; *Pensamiento y Acción*, edited by José Lino y Abelardo Molina; and *Revista del Istmo*, edited by Manuel Andino and Julio E. Avila (September, No. 1). In Honduras—*Ateneo de Honduras*, editor, Froylán Turcios (September, Vol. IV., No. 40) and *Renacimiento*, editor, Mario Rivas Cantriu (No. 53). In Nicaragua—*La Patria*, of Félix Quiñónez (León, Vol. VIII., Nos. 217-220); *Dario*, of Juan Felipe Toruño (León, August, No. 51); *Faces y Facetas*, of Adolfo Calero Orozco (No. 6); *Mercurio*, of T. Matamoros J.; *Los Domingos*, of Salvador Ruiz Morales (Managua, October 22, Vol. V., No. 227); *Las Revistas* of Heliodoro Cuadra (Managua, Vol. X., No. 3); and *Nicaragua Informativa*, edited by Lisímaco Lacayo Solórzano (October 29, Vol. VI., No. 69). In Costa Rica—*Repertorio Americano*, of J. García Monge; *Sparti*, edited by Marco A. Zumbado (August, Vol. I., No. 5); and *Regeneración*, of Jaime Brenes Castro.

University magazines of importance were: *Revista de la Universidad*, Guatemala, edited by Lic. Luis Cruz Meza (March 15, Nos. 2 and 3); and *Revista de la Universidad*, Tegucigalpa, editor Dr. Alberto Uelés (June, Vol. XII., No. 6). Official bulletins were: *La Escuela de Agricultura*, Guatemala, edited by Emilio Pinel; *Revista del Ejército*, San Salvador, edited by Max H. Martínez (March and April, Vol. III.); *Revista de Agricultura Tropical*, of the Dirección General de Agricultura e Industrias de San Salvador; *Boletín del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores*, of El Salvador, edited by Abraham Ramírez Peña (Vol. XIV.); *Monitor Postal*, San Salvador, edited by Juan Ramón Uriarte (March, No. 1); *Boletín del Consulado Salvadoreño*, editor, José Dolores Corpeño (San José, September, No. 1); *Gaceta de Policía*, San Salvador, editor, Federico Kreitz; *El Boletín Sanitario*, of the Dirección General de Sanidad de San Salvador, editor, Dr. Manuel Quijano Hernández; *Revista Salvadoreña de Educación Física*, of the Comisión Nacional; *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Costa Rica, edited by J.

García Monge (Vol. IV., No. 25); *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional*, San Salvador, editor, Arturo Ambroggi (No. 10); *La Información Editorial*, of Trejos Hermanos of San Jose (May, No. 8) and *El Anunciador Mensual*, of the book-house of José Montealegre P., of Guatemala (August).

Important reviews of education were: *Revista de Instrucción Primaria*, Guatemala, edited by the same bureau; *La Escuela Costarricense* of the Magisterio Nacional de Costa Rica, editor, Fausto Coto M. (vol. II., No. 3); *Boletín de la Escuela Normal de Varones*, Tegucigalpa, editor, Pompilio Ortega (July-August, Vol., II., Nos. 15-16); *Pogos*, of Instituto Normal de Varones del Salvador, editor, Francisco Machón Vilanova (August, Vol. II., Nos. 7-9); *Revista de la Enseñanza*, published by the Bureau of Public Education, Salvador, editor, José Lino Molina; *Educación*, Managua, editor, Josefa T. Agurri; *Ardua*, of the Escuela Normal de Costa Rica; *Magisterio*, Guatemala, editor, Vicente Carranza L. (January-June, Vol. I., Nos. 1-6); and *Fermental*, San Salvador, editor, Camilo Campos, (November, Vol. I., No. 3).

Among the commercial and financial bulletins of importance were the following: *Revista Económica*, Tegucigalpa, founded in 1910, editors, José María Agurcia, Santos Soto, and Rafael Alvarado M. (October, Vol. IX., No. 12); *Boletín de la Cámara de Comercio de Honduras*, edited by Augusto C. Coello (May, Vol., II, No. 14); *La Centro-Americana*, of the Compañía de Seguros sobre la Vida de San Salvador; *Boletín Comercial*, of the Cámara de San Salvador (August, No. 21); and *Cortés*, edited by Vicente Alemán in San Pedro Sula (September, No. 4).

Three important scientific reviews were: *Archivos del Hospital Rosales*, San Salvador (No. 137); *Juventud Médica*, Guatemala; and *El Salvador Médico*, of "Sociedad Emilio Alvarez de los Estudiantes de Medicina del Salvador", edited by Luis Edmundo Vásquez. Dr. Leonidas Alvarenga, San Salvador, also announced his review *Hermes*.

The students of National History have: *Revista de Costa Rica* edited by Trejos Hermanos, San José (August, Vol. III., No. 12); *Próceres* San Salvador, edited by Dr. Rafael V. Castro (October, Vol. V.) and the already mentioned *Revista de la Universidad*, Tegucigalpa. There were two religious reviews: *Stella Matutina*, of Congregaciones Marianas en Centro-América, editor, F. Arturo López S., San Salvador (July, No. 1), and *Paz y Bien*, catholic publication of León, Nicaragua. Theosophical studies have *Claros de Luna*, edited by Moisés Vincenzi. *Eureka*, San Pedro Sula, is the official organ of the masonic group (September, Vol. II., No. 16). Alvaro Bonilla and Gamaliel Noriega S. are editors of *Filatelía Centro-Americana*, San José, (May-June, Vol. II., Nos. 5 and 6); and J. Julio Cordero is the managing editor of *Mercurio*, publication of the Sociedad de Auxilios Mutuos de Guatemala (July, No. 48).

In *The Journal of International Relations*, January, appeared an article signed by Elbridge Colby entitled "The United States and the Coto Dispute between Panama and Costa Rica"; in *The Pan American Magazine*, New York, July, a paper by Miss L. E. Elliott entitled "Brighter Days in Central America. Big prices for Coffee in reopened Markets". *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C., February, brings "The Foremost Intellectual Achievement of Ancient America" by S. G. Morley (about the Mayan civilization, with special

reference to the old cities of Copán and Quirigua); "Volcano-girded Salvador", by Mrs. Harriet Chalmers Adams; and "Costa Rica, Land of Banana", by Paul S. Popenoe. In the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, February, appeared "Cartago, Costa Rica, as a health Resort" by W. W. Gould, and in *Current History Magazine*, New York, the article "How the Central American Union was born" by T. R. Dawley.

RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE.

City of Mexico.

NOTES

Arthur Preston Whitaker's eagerly awaited *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795: The Western Movement and the Spanish Retreat in the Mississippi Valley*, published by Houghton Mifflin Co., has at last come off press. A review of this carefully-written and informing work will appear in a later issue of this REVIEW.

No. 10 of the series "Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas", published under the directorship of Genaro Estrada, entitled *Bibliografía de Coahuila, histórica y geográfica*, and compiled by Vito Alessio Robles; and No. 11, *Bibliografía de Juan Ruíz de Alarcón*, by Nicolás Rangel, have recently appeared. These volumes will receive fuller mention in a future issue of this REVIEW.

A recent bibliographical work is the *Bibliographical and historical Description of the rarest Books in the Oliveira Lima Collection at the Catholic University of America* (Washington, 1927), which was compiled by Ruth E. V. Holmes (now Mrs. Davis); the assistant librarian of the collection. The title page of this book does not tell the whole story, however, for while the technical work of compilation was done by the assistant librarian—and well done—the notes to the various titles described were dictated by Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima. This book will be mentioned more fully in a future issue of this REVIEW.

Professor Herbert Ingram Priestley, of the University of California, is bringing out through the Florida State Historical Society a two-volume work on the expedition of Tristán de Luna y Arellano in 1559-1561 to Florida. This work consists of the most important documents covering the expedition and its results, which are presented in page-for-page Spanish original and English translation. Preceding the documents in the first volume is a careful historical introduction, and both it and the documents are well annotated. Professor Priestley has made an excellent translation of the documents. For the first time details of this expedition are brought out.

Dr. Wilbur H. Siebert, of the University of Ohio, has recently completed a documentary history entitled *The Loyalists in East*

Florida, 1774-1785, which will be brought out (through the Yale University Press) by the Florida State Historical Society, whose headquarters are at DeLand, Florida. At the annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Massachusetts, held on October 19, Dr. Siebert read a paper on "Florida as a refuge of the Southern Loyalists", in which he brought out much new information.

Mr. R. G. R. Conway, head of the English Electric Light and Power Co., of Mexico, is the author of a volume entitled *An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition, 1556-1560*, which will be reviewed in a later issue of this REVIEW. Mr. Conway has some thirty-five bound volumes of transcripts relating to the English in Mexico in the sixteenth century, which are of especial historical interest.

Professor James A. James, of Northwestern University, is now putting the finishing touches on his volume on George Rogers Clark and the advance of the frontier, and it is expected that this work will be issued about the first of February from the University of Chicago Press. This volume will elucidate the dependence of Clark on Oliver Pollock, American agent at New Orleans and Clark's relation to Spanish-United States problems, 1786-1795. Under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society, Professor James will also bring out shortly the letters and papers of Oliver Pollock, financier of the revolution in the west.

Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, librarian of the Ibero-American Library of the Catholic University of America, in his report for the past year (published in the "Announcements" of the University, September, 1927, XIII. No. 4, 58-60) calls attention to the scholars who have made use of the collection. The library has been increased substantially, both by purchase and gift. From the Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares of Buenos Aires came well over a hundred volumes, while other gifts were received from various European and Hispanic American countries. Dr. Oliveira Lima is now compiling a list of his books of travel in Hispanic America, which will be published in this REVIEW.

Miss Irene A. Wright's *Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana en el Siglo XVI*, in two volumes, has recently been published by the Academia de la Historia of Cuba. This work, which

carried off a prize offered by the Academy, prints 180 documents copied from the Archivo General de Indias. The volumes will be reviewed in a future issue of this REVIEW.

The Academy of History of Cuba announces as the subject for its competition for the year 1929, "Historia documentada de la Conspiración de la Gran Legión del Aguila Negra".

The *Revista Chilena* for June and July, 1927 (nos. 86-87) publishes articles as follows: Felix Nieto del Río (director of the review), "Tacna y Arica", pp. 1-6; Miguel Cruchaga Tocornal, "Las Conferencias Panamericanas", pp. 7-62; "Derecho y Obligaciones de los Extranjeros en Chile", pp. 63-66; Federico Agacio, "El Manifiesto del Dr. Pacheco, ex-Ministro de Relaciones del Brasil y la Política exterior de la Administración Bernardes", pp. 67-80; Alberto Cruchaga Ossa, "El Status de la Union Panamericana ante los Tribunales de Justicia de los Estados Unidos", pp. 82-83; and "Pedro Vicente Maldonado y la Inauguración de su Monumento en Riobama", pp. 84-86; N. Nova Valdés, "Inmunidad y fuero diplomáticos", pp. 87-110; Eugenio Labarca, "Figuras Chilenas—Don Luis Felipe Contardo", pp. 121-128; Ruben Darío, "Canto épico a las Glorias de Chile", pp. 129-143; "Discursos del Ministro de Relaciones exteriores en Tacna", pp. 144-147; "Terreno Panameno solicitado por Estados Unidos", p. 147; "La Prorroga de Poderes y la Reección presidencial en Cuba", pp. 149-160; and other allied documents to the preceding item, pp. 161-178.

The *Quarterly* of the Florida Historical Society, for October, 1927, publishes an article by Miss Venila Shores entitled "The Ruins of Fort San Luis near Tallahassee". The same number publishes lists of the Governors of Spanish East Florida, 1784-1821, and of Spanish West Florida, 1781-1821, both taken from those made by Joseph E. Caro, keeper of the public archives in St. Augustine, after American occupation. These lists should be compared with similar lists printed as an appendix to Volume I. of Brevard, *History of Florida*, which were compiled from many sources including the above mentioned lists and special investigations made in the Archivo General de Indias. The Caro list for the governors of West Florida is not accurate, and further investigation must be made among the original records of the archives in Seville, before an accurate list can be obtained. The

same issue of the *Quarterly* has a communication from W. H. Watson of Pensacola relative to Spanish procedure relating to the British land grants made during British ownership of the Floridas.

Dr. Manuel Pérez Beato, of Havana, has revived his review *El Curioso Americano*, the first number of the new issue (July-August, 1927) being No. 1 of Volume VI. This number contains the following articles: "Catálogo genealógico de Apellidos Cubanos", pp. 2-10 (to be continued); "Cervantes en Cuba", pp. 11-25 (to be continued), by Nicolás García de los Reyes; "Los primeros días del Teatro Cubano", pp. 26-32; "Beracoa, año 1866—un Alcalde Inquisidor", pp. 33-34 (being the will of Captain Pablo González Arguello, of July 2, 1666); "Descripción del Partido de Mantua, año 1844", pp. 34-46, by José Gómez Mira. Among the other publications of Dr. Pérez Beato is a plan of the siege of Havana in 1762, which was discovered by him. He has recently been appointed the official historian of the province of Havana.

Philip Ainsworth Means, of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, has in preparation two works relative to ancient Andean history. One is an annotated Abstract of Part Three of the *Miscelánea Antártica* of Father Miguel Cabello de Balboa, written between 1576 and 1586. It contains the original Spanish, now first made known to students in general, of many of the chief parts of this important work. The text for the Abstract is the manuscript preserved in the New York Public Library. Cabello is without doubt the greatest authority for Andean history prior to the Incas, his sole rival being Father Antonio de la Calancha. The other work is "Contributions towards an Andean Bibliography; Part One, The Chroniclers". This will contain biographical and bibliographical sketches of more than seventy of the writers who, working prior to 1700, dealt with the pre-Hispanic history of the Andean area.

The Hispanic Society of America has published additional booklets, as follows, each bearing the date 1927: *Figures of the Madonnas of Trapani in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, pp. 12; *Hispano-Moresque Ivory Box in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, pp. 39; *Ines Gonzales, Widow of Alfonso Martínez de las Casas pintadas* (1408), MS. edited by A. D. Savage, pp. 19; *Moro in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, pp. 25;

The Nuns of Santa Clara Sevilla and Juan Rodriguez de Guzman (1403), MS. edited by A. D. Savage, pp. 16; *Pere z Espalargucs in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, pp. 29.

Dr. Leo Francis Stock, of Carnegie Institution and the Catholic University of America, is the author of a well written and interesting article entitled "The Empress of Mexico visits Rome: a Diplomatic Episode", which was published in *America* in its issue of June 18, 1927. In this article are brought out the embarrassment of Rufus King, ambassador from the United States to the Papal States, who, however, attended the reception given to Maximilian and his strong-minded bride, the reaction of Secretary Seward on hearing of this, the refusal of Robert Seton, an American in the Academia Ecclesiastica dei Nobili, who refused under threat of dismissal to attend the reception, Charlotte's interview with Napoleon III., and her sad end.

"The Ministry of State in Latin America", is the title of a paper by J. Lloyd Meham in the *South-Western Political and Social Science Quarterly*, VIII., No. 2, September, 1927. This article contrasts the functions of cabinet members of Hispanic American countries and those of the United States, and shows something of the development.

Justin H. Smith read a paper at the annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society on October 19, entitled "General Grant's Opinion on the War with Mexico".

Mrs. Lota Spell, of Austin, Texas, contributed a note to the *American Historical Review* for April, 1927, entitled "The First Philanthropic Organization in America". This was the organization of the Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament, which was inaugurated in Mexico, in March, 1538.

Dr. F. W. Hodge, of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, is the author of an article on "The Six Cities of Cibola, 1581-1680" in the *New Mexican Historical Review*, for October, 1926. Students of the southwest will also find useful his *Bibliography of Fray Alonso de Benavides* (1919) which was issued as Vol. III., No. 1, of "Indian Notes and Monographs" published by the above mentioned Museum.

J. R. Spell, two of whose articles on Fernández de Lizardi have appeared in this review, has an article on "Spanish Teaching in the United States" in *Hispania*, for May, 1927.

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- Alessi Robles, Vita: Bibliografía de Coahuila, Mexico, Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas, 1927. Pp. 450.
- Altamira, Rafael: Colección de Textos para el Estudio de la Historia y de las Instituciones de América. Constituciones vigentes de los Estados Americanos. 2 vols. Madrid, 1926.
- Austin, Mary: The Lands of the Sun. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927.
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- Bianco, José: Don Bernardo de Irigoyen Estadista y Pioneer (1822-1906). Buenos Aires, 1927. Pp. 336.
- Blanco Fombona, R.: El Hombre de Hierro. Madrid, Sociedad Española de Librería, n.d. Pp. 355.
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- Cabrero, Alberto: Chile y los Chilenos. Santiago de Chile, 1926. Pp. 440.
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A NEW MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF EDITORS

As this number of the *REVIEW* goes to press, we are able to announce the election of Professor Mary W. Wilson, of Goucher College, to the Board of Editors, to fill the vacancy caused by the automatic retirement of Professor William Whatley Pierson, Jr., of the University of North Carolina. Professor Williams needs no introduction to the readers of this *REVIEW*. Not only is she a successful teacher of Hispanic American history, but she has also been active in other constructive work relating to Hispanic America—a region she knows at first hand. Her fellow editors welcome her to the Board.

To Professor Pierson, whose term of service has expired, the Board expresses its thanks for his coöperation and helpfulness; and bespeaks his continued interest in the *REVIEW*. Professor Pierson has been assured that his services will be drafted on many occasions. According to the organization of the Board, one editor retires each year after five years of service. By this method of rotation, it is expected that eventually, the foremost workers in Hispanic American history will be asked to serve on the Board of Editors of this *REVIEW*. ever possible either with the original treaty or a photograph